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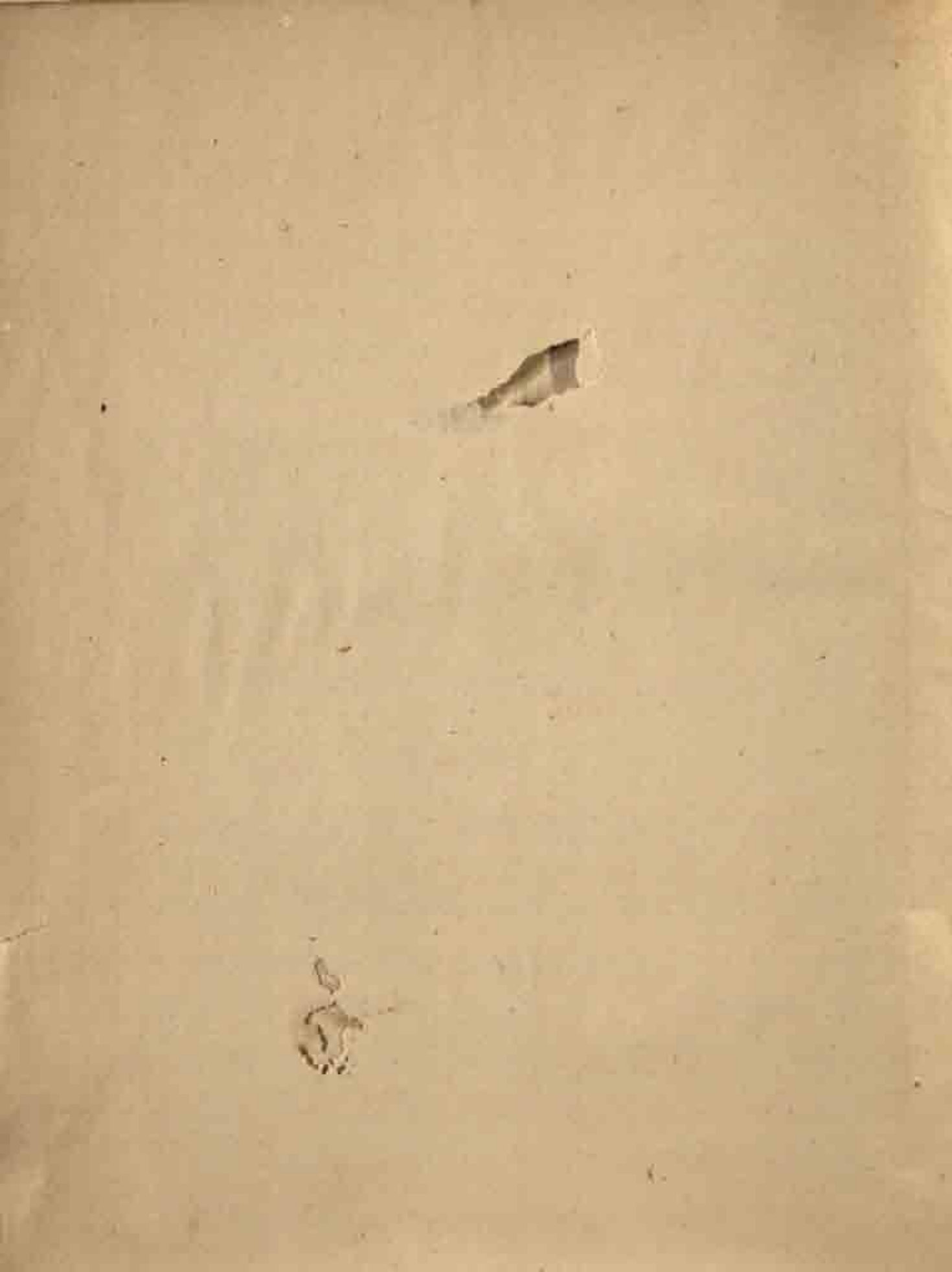
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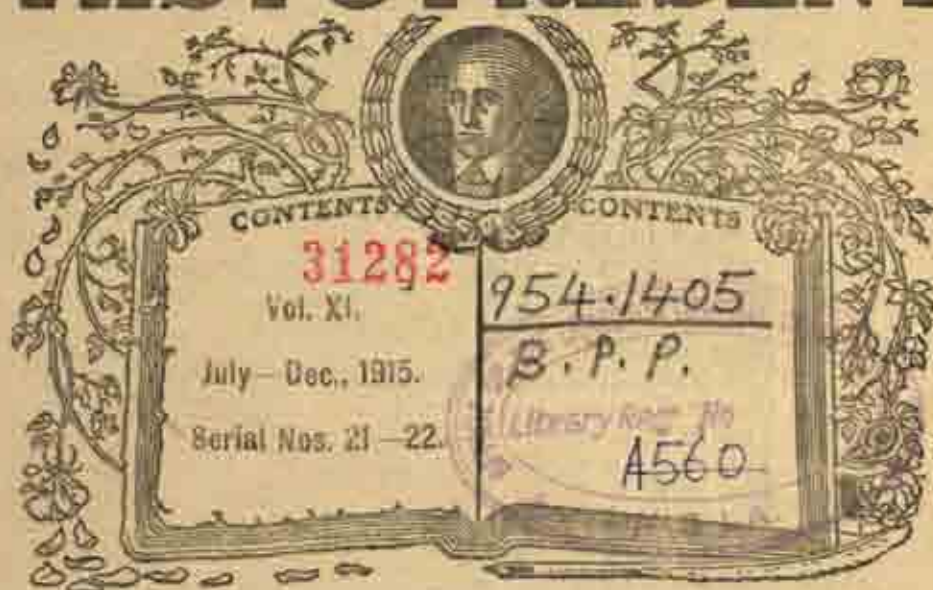
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BENGAL PAST & PRESENT



JOURNAL OF THE CALCUTTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Price Rs. 10/- a copy.

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One Hundred and Forty-Five years at the Old or Mission Church, Calcutta.

CHAPTER III.

STRENGTHENING AND CONSOLIDATING.

THE REV. T. T. THOMASON ARRIVES AT MISSION ROW—HENRY MARTYN'S SECOND AND FINAL VISIT—THOMASON AS PRIVATE CHAPLAIN TO THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL—INSTITUTIONS FOUNDED BY HIM AS CHAPLAIN OF ST. JOHN'S—CORRIE AS ARCHDEACON—THOMASON'S DEATH—CRAUFORD AND GOODE.

THE next name closely connected with the Old Mission Church is that of the Rev. THOMAS TRUEBODY THOMASON.

Thomason was born at Plymouth in 1774. At the age of 5 he went to school in Greenwich. At 12 he won a silver medal for writing and speaking in Latin. At 13 he obtained a post as French interpreter to Dr. Coke, and travelled with him to the West Indies.

He received an Elland scholarship, and went as pupil to Mr. Clark at Chesham Bois. Thence he went in October 1792 to Magdalen College, Cambridge. He became attached to Charles Simeon, and attended his lectures on Natural and Revealed Religion.

In India comparatively little is known of Simeon; and yet it was from Trinity Church, Cambridge, and from Simeon's own rooms at King's College, that radiated so much of that apostolic spirit which wrought great things for India in the early years of the 19th century. It was his privilege to awaken the hearts and engage the affections of men destined to achieve great spiritual triumphs. Brown, Martyn, Corrie, Thomason, Dealtry and Boyes were all "Simeon's men," and all of these were associated in more or less degree with the Old Mission Church. Simeon used playfully to speak of India as his own special "Diocese," as he was the means of sending out so many men into this part of the Mission field. Simeon was particularly interested in the welfare of the Old Mission Church, which retained his affectionate interest till the end. One of our Old Church deeds appointing new Trustees was signed in his rooms at King's College and bears his signature upon it.



Thomason won the Norrisian prize, and received an offer of a chaplaincy, with a view to the Old Church; but he declined it; and the chaplaincy was offered to Mr. Buchanan, who went, as we have seen, to Barrackpore, but assisted largely at the Old Church.

Thomason was 5th Wrangler, and was ordained as curate to Mr. Simeon in October 1796. He was made Fellow and Tutor of Queen's College. He married Miss Fawcett of Scaleby Castle in January 1799. For 12 years he was curate to Simeon at Trinity Church and Stapleford. Of all Simeon's disciples, Thomason was the one who enjoyed the most intimate friendship with him. He loved Thomason as a son. Thomason had indeed "such a loveable spirit; he was so gentle, so humble, so little selfish, so little envious, it would have been difficult not to love him."

His life with Simeon was so entirely happy and congenial to him, that he was very loath to break it off. But in 1808 when he was again offered the chaplaincy of the Old Church, he accepted it. Mr. and Mrs. Thomason sailed in the ship *Travlers*, which was lost off Cape Negrais, and those on board had a marvellous escape. The Thomasons arrived in Calcutta on November 19, 1808 having lost all they possessed except the clothes they had on, to find a furnished house all ready for them and a warm welcome from Mr. Brown, "who told us to look round the walls—the furniture and the house were ours. It was a house built in faith and prayer as the residence of a missionary, out of the contributions of a number of poor persons, who for many years past had subscribed towards a fund for the support of the Gospel, and united their prayers that God would send them a minister." No wonder that tears of thankfulness rose to their eyes as they looked round their future home, so thoughtfully and kindly provided for them. This house was of course No. 10 Mission Row, built by the Evangelical Fund, on ground given by Brown, who had bought it from Charles Weston. It was at that time a two storied building.

Services at the Old Church in 1808 were at 8 a.m. and 8 p.m. The congregation numbered 250. At the Thursday evening services the attendance was 100. "The Church might hold 450 with the galleries. The number of Company's servants attending was small. There were week-day *Cottage Meetings*.

Under Thomason the attendance increased, and in six months it was thought necessary to "enlarge" the Church; but how it was enlarged is not stated. The attendance on Thursday evening rose to 150.

In June 1810 Corrie went over to Cawnpore and found Martyn looking very ill. Martyn left Cawnpore on October 1st for Calcutta on his way to Persia. On November 3rd he arrived, and had the long expected pleasure of meeting "dear Thomason" and stayed with him at 10 Mission Row. On



THE OLD OR MISSION CHURCH, IN 1880.

November 11th, Martyn preached again at the Old Church on "As ye have therefore received Christ" etc.

On November 18 on Acts 15 "Through much tribulation."

25 on "Paul reasoned of righteousness" &c: on this occasion Lord Minto was present.

December 9 "The heart is deceitful above all things."

" 16 "Without shedding of blood there is no remission."

" 23 On Ps. 9. 17.

" 25 On Jn. 3. 16. Mr. Brown preached in the evening on "Let your light so shine before men." The collections that day amounted to about Rs 7,000 !

On January 1st, 1811 Martyn preached the anniversary sermon for the Bible Society, and suggested the formation of a Calcutta Auxiliary. He says, "I prepared an unwieldy sermon, which has just been delivered. We have received 2,600 Rupees in donations. We proceed without delay to form an Auxiliary Bible Society and 5,000 Rupees have already been subscribed for the British and Foreign Bible Society by the few who were at Church."

It is interesting to note that the first depot of the Calcutta Bible Society was opened on the ground floor of No. 9 Mission Row, which had been bought by the Evangelical Fund and now formed part of the Mission property.

On January 6 Martyn preached at night on "The one thing needful."

On January 7 he sailed for Persia, slipping away from his friends at Calcutta so as to avoid the painful ordeal of saying goodbye. Before he left, a portrait of him was painted by Timothy Hicky, which was sent to his friend Simeon, and is now in the University Library at Cambridge. A good copy of it hangs in the Hall of St. John's College, from which our illustration is taken. Of this last visit to Calcutta Thomason wrote:—"His sermon for the Bible Society was of eminent service. His labours have revived all. The assemblies at Church are greater than was ever known; on Christmas day there were above 1200."

Martyn died on his way home from Persia; his life having indeed "burnt out for God." There is a tablet to his memory in the Old Church.

To the memory of
The Rev. HENRY MARTYN
Chaplain of the Bengal Establishment
"He was a burning and a shining light!"
He died at Tokat in Armenia
16th October 1812, aged only 32!

His death and his Journals gave a tremendous impetus to missionary interest in England.

During 1811 *Visiting in the Hospital* is mentioned.

On Whit Sunday, Abdul Masih, a Mohamedan convert of Henry Martyn's was baptized in the Old Church; he afterwards became the first Indian to be ordained to Holy Orders.

January 1812 was remarkable for an earthquake; in March the Serampore Mission Press was burnt out; and in June, David Brown passed away. It was in this year that Judson and Newell were expelled from Calcutta, and went to Burmah to establish their Mission there.

Corrie came down to Calcutta in April 1812. After Mr. Brown's death, he wrote to Mr. Buckworth of Dewsbury, remarking "Mr. Thomason is greatly in need of an Assistant in the Old Church Calcutta. Could not one of your young friends get ordained and come over to us?" Corrie proceeded on a voyage to Vizigapatam in July, returning to Calcutta in October, when he found Mr. Thomason laid aside by an attack of illness. Corrie undertook the services for a few weeks; and before leaving, he was married to Miss Myers, daughter of one of the Trustees of the Evangelical Fund.

Corrie writes:— "Mr. Thomason has little to do with the natives; but he has more to do as Minister of the Old Church and as Secretary to C. M. S. than one man ought to have. Corrie suggested that a Calcutta Auxiliary of the C. M. S. should at once be started, and as a result subscriptions to the amount of £400 were collected for Mission work at Agra, and elsewhere. In November Mr. and Mrs. Corrie returned to Agra.

Thomason brought before Government a scheme for establishing schools throughout India, and obtained a grant of Rs. 10,000 for the Malay Bible. The Earl of Moira, the new Governor-General, frequently attended the Old Church, and made a grant for the support of a second chaplain there. He also appointed Thomason as his private chaplain, from time to time requiring him to take services at Barrackpore.

From June 1814 to May 1815 Thomason went on tour with the Governor-General, Mr. Robertson being in charge of the Church. It was during this tour that Thomason made a strong protest against the desecration of Sunday in the Governor-General's camp, and was nearly dismissed in consequence; but nevertheless his brave protest had some effect.

On January 1st 1815 Corrie went home to England; and in this year Bishop Middleton arrived as first Bishop of Calcutta. His diocese comprised the whole of British India, Ceylon, Burmah, the Straits and Australia! He was asked to consecrate the Old Mission Church; but he refused to do so, on the extraordinary ground that the patronage was vested in private individuals and not in the East India Company i.e. in Government.

In 1815 the European Female Orphan Asylum for children of soldiers was started by Mrs. Thomason; while he, to provide pure literature for Europeans, commenced the Calcutta School Book Society, now a business firm rather than a charitable institution. In the city, the Hindu College was started about this time.

In 1816 Thomason welcomed the Rev. W. Greenwood and the Rev. C. G. Schroeter, the first C. M. S. missionaries to come to north India. Greenwood began work in Kidderpore, the first C.M.S. station in Bengal, and Schroeter was designated for Thibet, which however he was never able to enter.

In the year 1817 the Church Missionary Society "gained a firm position and presented a bold front in Calcutta." Thomason speaks with animation and joy of the missionary meetings in his church and among his congregation, in which, as a matter of almost necessary consequence, the number of serious hearers multiplied. A *Monthly Missionary Prayer meeting* was established. But on the other hand Bishop Middleton prohibited the missionaries from taking services in any church!

Corrie returned from furlough in August 1817, and on Sunday October 12 he preached a sermon at the Old Church on behalf of the C. M. S. This seems to have been the first discourse from the pulpit of the Established Church in India with a professedly missionary spirit. On November 17 he left for Benares. In October 1821 Corrie bought the property at 33 Amherst Street Calcutta as a C. M. S. mission compound, out of a sum of Rs. 30,000 given to him by Major Phipps for mission purposes. It had formerly been a tannery.

About this time a Diocesan School Committee was formed, and Bishop's College was founded in 1820.

In March Corrie again preached for the C. M. S. in the Old Church.

In April Corrie wrote, "our Schools have now upwards of 400 boys and 134 girls in Calcutta."

In October 1823 Bishop Heber arrived, and appointed Corrie as his Archdeacon. Heber thought also very highly of Thomason, and transferred him to the Cathedral Church (St. John's), so that his ministry at the Old Church now closed; and he went now to live at his house in Garden Reach, which is mentioned in Darton's *Life and Times of Mrs. Sherwood*.

In this year Charles Grant, who had been for some years a principal Director of the East India Company, died in London, and a tablet was erected to his memory in the Old Church.

In Memory of
CHARLES GRANT ESQR.

Late a Director of the Hon'ble E. I. Company
and formerly a Civil Servant of this Presidency,
who was distinguished by his unwearied zeal
in promoting the cause of religion in India,
of which this Church purchased at his expense
and preserved for the service of God,
is a proof & monument.

He died in London October 31 AD. 1823 aged 78 years.

The Rev. THOMAS ROBERTSON assisted at the Old Church from 1813 and the Rev. G. W. CRAUFORD from December 1822. Mr. Crauford took charge on Mr. Thomason's transfer to St. John's in the following March. In 1824 Corrie took charge for Crauford for some time, being assisted by the Rev. ISAAC WILSON of the C. M. S. In June 1825 the Rev. F. GOODE came to assist Mr. Crauford. Crauford's catechising on Friday evenings are mentioned in the Old Church room. Soon after this, on Crauford's leaving, Mr. Goode took charge with Mr. Hammond to help him.

The first steamer to come to Calcutta, the *Enterprise*, came in 1825. Thomason left India in February 1826, thoroughly satisfied with leaving the Old Church in such excellent hands. The voyage was a distressing one for Mrs. Thomason died at sea. Thomason worked for a while at Cheltenham. In 1828 he married again, and returned to Calcutta in October, hoping to take up the charge of the Old Church once more; but almost immediately on arrival he fell ill, and was ordered by the doctors to go on a sea voyage to Mauritius, where he died on June 21, 1829.

His son James became Lieutenant-Governor of the North Western Provinces in 1843-1853, and took a lively interest in founding C. M. S. Mission stations in that province. One of Thomason's daughters married Colonel Hutchinson of Cossipore Gun Foundry, and Lady J. Molesworth Macpherson was their grand-daughter. Another daughter married Captain Stephen, R. E. who died in 1823.

On November 12, 1826 the C. M. S. Chapel at Mirzapore (now Trinity Church) was opened, Bishop Heber having given Rs. 1,000 towards it. Mr. Deerr preached at the opening service. It was long known as Corrie's Church; and the lane near by bore the name of Corrie's Church Lane (not Carey's Church Lane as in Mr. Cotton's book, *Calcutta Old and New*; which was due to a municipal clerical error in the street label, since rectified. William Carey never had any connection with this part of Calcutta, whereas the deed for C. M. S. property abutting the lane

stands in the name of Archdeacon Corrie). So this is no case for "pure conjecture" [see *Bengal Past & Present* Vol. I. p. 181]. Corrie went for years every Christmas afternoon to examine the Hindu boys of the C. M. S. School in the founding of which he had taken such keen interest. It was not till many years after that the Church received a new name, "Long Sahibka Girja," from the fact that the Rev. James Long of "Nil-Darpan" fame lived in that compound.

Crauford, while chaplain of Dum Dum, took Fairy Hall, and entertained young officers as boarders, among whom was Henry Lawrence. Crauford was afterwards chaplain at Allahabad in 1830 and preached to the sepoys. On several sepoys applying for baptism, he was prohibited from working among them. He left India in 1831 and succeeded to the family Baronetcy as Sir George Crauford.

The Rev. Francis Goode became Dean of Ripon, and wrote a fine book "The Better Covenant." His service at the Old Church was brief, but much appreciated.

In memory of Thomason's faithful ministry we have a tablet in the Old Church, and a portrait in the Old Church Room, which was painted in 1826 at the request of the congregation, on the occasion of his leaving for England. The tablet is as follows:—

To the Memory of
The Rev. T. T. THOMASON M.A.
this tablet was erected
by a grateful and affectionate people
in remembrance
of his long and faithful ministry.
He died at Mauritius 22nd June 1829 aged 55 years.

CHAPTER IV.

A PASTOR BELOVED.

THE REV. T. DEALTRY COMES TO THE OLD CHURCH—THE MINISTRY OF DEALTRY AND OF THE REV. R. B. BOYES—BISHOP WILSON A REGULAR ATTENDANT—DEALTRY AS ARCHDEACON—CHRIST CHURCH CORNWALLIS SQUARE BUILT BY THE EVANGELICAL FUND—DEATH OF BOYES—THE REV. HENRY THOMAS—DEALTRY APPOINTED BISHOP OF MADRAS—THE REV. H. HUTTON, THE REV. G. LOVELY AND THE REV. M.D.C. WALTERS.

On the death of Thomason in June 1829, the Rev. THOMAS DEALTRY became Senior Chaplain of the Old Church, and here he "preached the Gospel of Christ with earnest faithfulness for upwards of 17 years." No life has been written of him that I know of; so we have to gather sparse details as best we may from various sources.

Dealtry was born in Yorkshire in 1795. His parents, though well connected, were in reduced circumstances; and so young Dealtry was early thrown upon his own resources; and well did he surmount them. When only 15 he became usher in a school at Doncaster, and later in one near London. By dint of untiring industry, he saved up enough to go to College. He entered at St. Catharine's Hall, Cambridge, and in due course graduated, being bracketed first in the Law Tripos. He became well acquainted with Simeon, who sent him out to the Old Church in January 7, 1829.

In January 1830 Corrie wrote, "you would be delighted to see how crowded the Old Church now is. Yesterday the Bishop preached (Bishop Turner). The City is now divided into parishes, and each is to have its own vestry, and the care of its own poor. Yesterday a sermon was preached and Rs. 1,753 collected for the poor of the Old Church District." The division into parishes actually took place in 1828, though the arrangement then made has been revised since.

In October 1830 Mr. George Udny passed away, and a tablet was placed in the Old Church to his memory.



THE OLD GALLERIES, LOOKING NORTH.



THE NEW CHANCEL OF 1892.

This marble is dedicated
by the Trustees of the Old Church
to the memory of
GEORGE UDNY ESQRE.
Late of the Hon'ble Company's Bengal Civil Service,
and many years a member of this congregation,
whose exertions in the course of religion generally,
and in the circulation of the
Holy Scriptures particularly,
have well entitled him
to this token of grateful remembrance.
He died in Calcutta, October 24, AD 1830
in the 70th year of his age.

Mr. Udny died at his house in Calcutta, and was buried in the Mission Cemetery in North Park Street.

In 1831 the Rev. R. B. Boyes, yet another of Simeon's men, but somewhat younger than those already mentioned, was appointed as junior chaplain to the Mission Church; and here he laboured for ten years, being specially beloved by the young people of the parish.

In November 5, 1832 Bishop Daniel Wilson arrived in Calcutta as the first Metropolitan Bishop of India. Before leaving England, he had arranged with the Directors of the East India Company for the formation of the Bishoprics of Madras and Bombay. Charles Simeon was greatly delighted at this development of the Church in India, and said to the Bishop, "Even if you should never reach India, you will have done a great work."

In Bishop Wilson's time the fact of the Old Church never having been episcopally consecrated was again brought up, and once again the Bishop declined to consecrate it, but on grounds totally different to those upon which Bishop Middleton had refused to consecrate it. Bishop Wilson's reply was to the effect that it was unnecessary to consecrate it now, as it had been already abundantly consecrated by the prayers and worship of God's people for two generations, and by the ministry of such eminently sainted men of God. The Bishop became a regular attendant at the week-night services at the Old Church, seldom missing while he was in Calcutta. On Whit Sunday 1833 he baptized a Bengali convert, Kali Coomar Ghose.

Archdeacon Corrie left India in November 1834 and returned from England as first Bishop of Madras, a See which he occupied for only 18 months. Mrs. Corrie died on December 21, 1836 and Bishop Corrie himself on the 5th of February following.

At a meeting in the Town Hall Calcutta it was decided to place a memorial tablet in the Old Church, another in St. John's, and a portrait of him in the Old Church room. The portrait was painted in England by Sir William Beechey in 1838 and cost £152-10 with freight £36-8; total £188-18. Bishop Wilson preached his memorial sermon in Calcutta and paid this tribute to his character:—

"He was a man who inspired universal confidence; all Hindustan loved him."

This tablet was placed in the Old Church:—

This tablet of affection
was raised by the Christian Community of this Presidency
to the memory of
the Right Revd. DANIEL CORRIE D.D.
late Lord Bishop of Madras
and formerly Archdeacon of Calcutta.
The friend & fellow labourer of Henry Martyn.
The beloved Prelate died at Madras
on the 5th day of February 1837.
In the 59th year of his age, and the 2nd of his Episcopate
"They rest from their labours, and their works do follow them."

In March 1835 Mr. Dealtry was appointed as Archdeacon in succession to Corrie. In this year the Old Church was considerably enlarged towards the south. The south transept, which apparently till then had corresponded to that on the north, was extended far out into the garden, so that this transept became larger than the actual body of the Church. A third story was also added to No. 10 Mission Row. An Architect's plan of 1835 by Mr. Vos, hangs in the vestry showing these additions, but is now much defaced with age. The final alteration of the spire and surmounting it with a gilded dove as weather-vane, was probably done at this time also. (There is a story that the Scotch Kirk finding our steeple higher than theirs, went one better by raising theirs a few feet higher and surmounting it with a cock!)

On November 15, 1835 Bishop Wilson preached at the Old Church for Mrs. M. A. Wilson's Orphanage at Agarpura. Mrs. Wilson was the widow of the late C.M.S. Secretary the Rev. Isaac Wilson. She built the Agarpura Mission as a Refuge for Indian Girls, and made it over to the Bishop and Archdeacon on her death in trust for the C.M.S. The Church (quite a fine one) was built in 1839, with a good tower, which was a prominent feature in the landscape from the river. The tower was blown down in the great

the Cyclone of 1864. For a time the C.M.S. had a flourishing school and Mission there, but the extreme unhealthiness of the place has led to a virtual closing down of this station.

In the old Evangelical Fund Minute book of 1869 there occurred an entry of an extract from a letter of the Rev. Charles Simeon to Ven'ble. Archdeacon Dealtry dated King's College Cambridge 4 February 1836:—

"About the Mission Church and the Fund of 50,000 Rupees, this is my deliberate and decided opinion.

"The Mission Church is private property vested in Trustees. But the E. I. Co. may say 'We pay the ministers and we will nominate.' To guard against this, collect money enough to support one or two ministers; and then you may reply to the E. I. Co. 'The nomination *must* continue in *our* hands; and if *you* will not pay the Ministers, *we* will.' Thus you are for ever independent of the E. I. Co., which without such a fund you cannot be.

"But you may then say to the E. I. Co. 'Build us an equally good church in the black Town, and we will give up this to you. But a Mission Church, supplied by Ministers of our own nomination, we must have.'

"Mr. Grant has left this Church as a Mission Church, and we cannot do injustice to him, suffer his purposes to be altered; much less be ourselves accessory to the alteration of them. I desire that this 50,000 Rupees be made Rs. 150,000 that they may in case of necessity be able to support the ministers.

"I desire that a copy of this be given to the Bishop of Calcutta, and to every one of the Trustees, and to be entered in the Church Register."

This extract is particularly interesting as shewing the keen personal interest that Simeon took in the Old Church up to the very last; for it was on November 13 of this same year 1836 that Charles Simeon passed away at the ripe age of 77, having in this life "determined to know nothing but Jesus Christ and Him Crucified."

Tablets to Henry Martyn, T. T. Thomason and C. Simeon stand together on the walls of Trinity Church, Cambridge.

In July 1836 Brojo Nath Ghose and 3 other students were baptized.

An engraving of Archdeacon Dealtry taken about this time represents him in his robes, standing beside a Font, which is undoubtedly the same Font which we have in the Church still, it having been rescued from a godown where it was found! This Font is a twin to that in St. John's Church, probably both were brought out by Brown at the same time.

In 1837 the Archdeacon's portrait was painted; it now hangs in the Old Church Room, and bears the inscription on the back of the canvas.

"The Revd. T. DEALTRY B. D.
Archdeacon of Calcutta ;
painted by J. Reynolds Gwatken
Calcutta. 1837."

On Thursday Epiphany 1838 Bishop Wilson was present to hear the Rev. Krishna Mohan Banerjee preach, who only six years before had been a Hindu College student. His baptism had created no small stir throughout the city.

In July the Archdeacon with his wife and daughter accompanied the Bishop on his visitation to Burmah, Ceylon and the Straits, returning to Calcutta on November 14. The Bishop remarks "you would be delighted to hear some of his sermons." During his absence the Rev. H. S. Fisher (junior) officiated at the Old Church, being assisted by the Rev. Mr. Wybrow, Secretary of the C. M. S.

In 1838 a distinguished member of the Old Church passed away in the person of Henry Davenport Shakespear. The Shakespears were first cousins of the Thackerays. The monument to Mr. Shakespear is large if not elegant. It represents the gate of a vault under a palm tree. The monument is inscribed :—

To the Memory of
HENRY DAVENPORT SHAKESPEAR,
who after thirty five years of useful and honorable service
died on the 20th day of March 1838.
A member of the Council of India.
In token of respect for his public conduct,
which was conscientious, just, moderate and humane ;
of admiration of the modesty, gentleness, sincerity and piety
which adorned his private life ;
and in grateful remembrance of long and unbroken kindness,
this monument is erected by his friends
who lament his loss and cherish the recollection
of his virtues.

At the beginning of 1839 the Archdeacon visited Krishnagar, where a remarkable movement towards Christianity was taking place in the district. 150 were baptized at Anandabagh, 250 at Ranabanda, and in all more than 1000 persons were baptized into the Christian Church that year, and from 3 to 4 thousand in the following year.

In 1839 the Archdeacon with his fellow Trustees of the Evangelical Fund built Christ Church, Cornwallis Square. The original idea was to build it near College Square close to the Hindu College, but this raised a storm of opposition before which the Archdeacon yielded and finally the church was built in Cornwallis Square. It was intended to be a church for an Indian congregation, ministered to by an Indian clergyman. In September it was opened for Divine worship, Archdeacon Dealtry preaching the sermon on the occasion from Exod. 20.24. The Rev. K. M. Banerjee was the first pastor, and to this day it is known among the people as "Krishto Mohan Banerjee's Girja."

On October 8th St. Paul's Cathedral Calcutta, was founded.

At an ordination service at St. John's an excellent sermon was preached by the Rev. R. B. Boyes; and on December 10, 1841 we read that Mr. Boyes died after a short illness of only week's fever. He was buried in the Mission Cemetery, where his grave is marked by a marble pillar surmounted by urn. A tablet was put in the Old Church.

To the memory of
The Rev. R. B. BOYES, A.B., Chaplain
who after faithfully labouring
for 10 years in the Lord's service, in this Church
fell asleep in JESUS
On the 10th day of December 1841 in the 38th year
of his age.
"Mark the perfect man, and behold the upright,
for the end of that man is peace." Ps. XXXVII. 37.

A son of Mr. Boyes became Archdeacon of Bombay, and on retirement from India, Vicar of Hildenborough, Tunbridge Wells. The Rev. J. VAUGHAN came in place of Mr. Boyes as junior chaplain. A Mural tablet in the Church tells us that Mrs. Vaughan died at sea, having been ordered a sea voyage to Penang; she was only 19 years of age.

On Feb. 9th 1843 a young student from the Hindu College was baptized by Archdeacon Dealtry at the Old Church. This was Michael Modhu Sudan Dutt destined to go down to posterity as the greatest Bengali poet of his century; though, like many others gifted with real genius, he was unrewarded by his own day and generation, and died in poverty.

In 1843 Mr. G. S. Hutteman died. He was one of the oldest member of the congregation. A tablet was placed in the Church:—

In memory of
G. S. HUTTEMAN ESQR.,
who through a long life bore a
consistent testimony
to the truth as it is in JESUS.
He was born Nov. 10th 1769.
Died July 8th 1843.
"Thou shalt come to thy grave in a full age
like as a shock of corn cometh in his season."
This tablet
was raised by the Trustees of the
Evangelical Fund connected with this Church of
which Mr. Hutteman was the oldest member.

The Monthly Missionary Prayer-Meeting held in the Old Church Room on the second Tuesday of each month, was very well attended during the year.

The Rev. C. J. QUARTLEY assisted for a short time at the Old Church. In 1844 the Rev. H. THOMAS M.A. Dublin, then Chaplain at St. James, married Dora, only daughter of Archdeacon Dealtry, and shortly afterwards he was transferred to be junior chaplain at the Old Church.

In 1846 the brothers Kelsall, members of the Church (T. S. Kelsall being a Trustee of the Evangelical Fund), presented a large bell to the church which bears the inscription.

"C. and G. Mears, founders, London. Given by T. S. and W. S. Kelsall 1846." Many people have wished that sonorous bell further off, but the local poet of the Old Church, Mr. C. F. Jore, who never had to live in its vicinity, wrote some verses on it.

I.

The Old Church Bell—the Old Church Bell,
has for me a strange sweet spell,
As from afar its echoes clear
Invite us to that Church so dear.

II.

Those weekly calls to Prayer and Praise
Remind me oft of former days,
When I with loved ones would repair
For worship every Sabbath there.

III.

How altered now; for they have flown
To realms where angel-songs alone
Are heard; no more with me to tell
Their prayers, or list to that old bell.

IV.

Familiar sound, with memories fraught,
Awak'ning many a holy thought
Of Sabbaths gone, and lips now cold,
That oft to us of JESUS told.

V.

Oh thus to me that Old Church bell
Speaks of the past, remembered well,
Of times and seasons long since fled,
And friends now numbered with the dead.

VI.

And so perchance when others hear
That Sabbath bell, to memory dear,
And I no more with them shall be,—
Some kindly heart will think of me.

At the beginning of 1847 the Archdeacon made an extensive tour in the North Western Provinces, Mr. Thomas being left in charge of the Church.

On his return to Calcutta at the beginning of 1848 the Archdeacon was invalided home to England, and never returned to the Old Mission Church; for he was nominated to the see of Madras, now vacant by the resignation of Corrie's successor, Bishop Spencer. His farewell sermon at the Church was preached on April 6, 1848 on the text 2 Cor. 13-11.

Mr. Dealtry and Mr. Boyes were the last to be specially appointed by the Directors of the E. I. Company to the Mission Church. For on the death of Mr. Simeon through whom Evangelical chaplains had been supplied, the Directors notified that they could not continue this method of special appointment. So now appointments were made by the Bishop of Calcutta.

While on furlough, Dealtry took charge of St. John's, Bedford Row, and during his stay in London a bust of him was made by Stevens of Pimlico, and sent out to the Old Church Room, where also there was a portrait of him painted earlier, while he was chaplain of the Mission Church.

Dealtry died on March 3th 1861 at Madras. His dying words were "Preach Christ, Preach Christ to the end, Christ Jesus, all sufficient and sufficient for all." Throughout his ministry of 17 years at the Old Church, he

was much beloved for the earnest and affectionate discharge of his office. His warm and kindly disposition made him especially attractive to the young. Many testified to the beneficial effect of his preaching, and to the support and consolation he could so well administer in affliction.

A tablet to his memory reads :—

To the memory of
The Right Revd. THOMAS DEALTRY, D.D.
late Bishop of Madras,
and formerly Archdeacon of Calcutta.
As senior Minister of this Church
he preached the Gospel of Jesus Christ
with earnest faithfulness for upwards of
seventeen years, from June 1829 to Jan. 1847
Died at Madras 5th March 1861
aged 65 years.

In 1851 there passed away an old member of the congregation in the person of William Wallis. A tablet records :—

To the memory of
WILLIAM WALLIS Esq.
who was born on 6th October 1782
and died on 2nd October 1851.
He was for 43 years
A member of the congregation of the Old Church
and for many years
A Trustee of the Evangelical Fund.
He was a sincere and humble Christian
and his conversation was such
as becometh the Gospel.
"God forbid that I should glory, save in
the Cross of our Lord Jess Christ, by
whom the world is crucified unto me,
and I unto the world" Gal VI. 14.

And in 1855 another tablet records the death of Wale Byrne.

This tablet,
the tribute of esteem and friendship,
commemorates the worth and virtues of
WALE BYRNE
eminent for his useful exertions
for promoting the temporal and spiritual
welfare of his fellow creatures,
an earnest and zealous friend of
Christian education,
and the originator of the Church Building Fund.
Born 7th March 1803
Died 13th March 1855
"And I heard a voice from heaven saying unto me
blessed are the dead which die in the Lord for they
rest from their labours."
Rev. XIV. 13.

Mr. Thomas continued till 1854 when his health broke down, and he was obliged to take a sea voyage to the Cape. In succession to Mr. Thomas, the Bishop appointed the Rev. Henry Hutton as Senior chaplain at the Church; and on his return from the Cape, Mr. Thomas came back for a short time as junior chaplain; after which, Mr. Thomas was transferred to Jhelum and Murree, and finally retired to England in 1858, and died there in July 1859. There is a tablet to his memory in the Old Church.

Bishop Wilson delivered Lent Lectures at the Mission Church in 1850, taking as his subject the Christian's armour. He wrote:—"They do not count the numbers at the Old Church, but on Good Friday evening the Church was filled from end to end, and many were sitting on benches in the verandahs outside."

The appointment of Mr. Hutton to the chaplaincy at the Mission Church gave rise to some considerable correspondence between the Trustees and the Bishop, as the Trustees felt it would not do for the Bishop, to make appointments without any reference to them. Mr. Hutton was not an Evangelical of the type the people were accustomed to, and the decrease in the number of worshippers in the Church caused much uneasiness in the minds of those responsible for its maintenance. After a special vestry meeting in July 1855, certain resolutions were submitted to the Bishop, asserting the necessity of having men who could devote their whole time to the work of the Church and Parish, and objecting that the Bishop's private chaplain should not be appointed as junior chaplain of the Church. The

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Bishop refusing to comply with these resolutions of the vestry, negotiations were opened by the vestry with the C.M.S. but no definite arrangement was arrived at for some time.

In August 1854 the first railway in India was opened from Howrah to Burdwan.*

There are no records apparently of the work at the Old Church for the next few years. Mr. Hutton seems not to have been popular with the congregation, but he continued at the post until the spring of 1863 when he retired; and the Rev. GEORGE LOVELY, who on Dealtry's recommendation had been appointed junior chaplain in 1856, succeeded him. Mr. Lovely was incumbent for 6 years with much acceptance to the congregation. He had as his colleague the Rev. M. D. C. WALTERS.

The sainted Bishop Wilson died in 1858. A tablet to him is in the Old Church :—

To the memory of
The Right Revd. DANIEL WILSON D. D.
Bishop of this See & Metropolitan
for more than 25 years,
whose praise in all the Churches, as a faithful
minister of Christ, whose public virtues are universally
acknowledged, and whose association with this congregation
by habitual attendance on the week day service in this Church
is gratefully remembered.
Died 2nd January 1858
in his 80th year.

Another tablet reminds us of Mrs. Hannah Ellerton who latterly lived at the Bishop's palace. Her stories of bygone days were after regarded as of rather a tall order !

To the memory of
Mrs. HANNAH ELLERTON
a faithful servant of Christ,
who for the greater portion
of a lengthened residence of
more than 80 years in India,
was a member of this Church.
Died 21st January 1858
aged 86 years.

* See *Bengal Past & Present* Vol.

In October 1864 there occurred the great cyclone, when large ships were carried up and left high and dry on the maidan ; but strange to say, no very great damage seems to have been done to the Church or its spire, though the massive tower of the Church at Agarpara was blown down.

Mr. Lovely left India in January 1869 after a total service of 13 years at the Old Church, and became Vicar of St. Mary at the Quay, Ipswich, in 1876. He was very popular at the Old Church, and a portrait of him was hung in the Old Church Room. He died in England on February 1, 1895.

Mr. Walters continued as chaplain at the Old Church, being assisted by the Rev. E. C. Stuart, secretary of the C. M. S. at Calcutta ; but it was not destined to be for long, for Mr. Walters passed away at the parsonage in December of the same year after a week's fever. His ministry though comparatively brief, was much appreciated. The vestry passed the following minute upon his death :—

"During his ministry of nearly 7 years in the Church, Mr. Walters faithfully upheld those Evangelical truths which have animated the many good men who laboured in the Gospel since David Brown and his honoured coadjutors : while by his affable disposition, his unvarying sweetness of temper, and his habitual devotion, he attracted the love and esteem of all classes. Quiet and unostentatious habits of active usefulness, enabled him to overtake a large share of work, and he seemed ever ready to fill any post, however obscure or wearisome, in which his Master's cause might be promoted."

A small but excellent portrait of him was placed in the Old Church Room as a token of the affection and regard of the parishioners. His tablet reads :—

In Memory of
The Rev. M. D. C. WALTERS M. A.
for 7 years
a faithful and beloved minister
of this Church.
He died at the Old Church Parsonage
December 19th 1869
in the 40th year of his age.
"Remember them who have spoken to you
the word of God.....whose faith, follow."

CHAPTER V.

MISSIONARY PASTORS UNDER THE C.M.S.

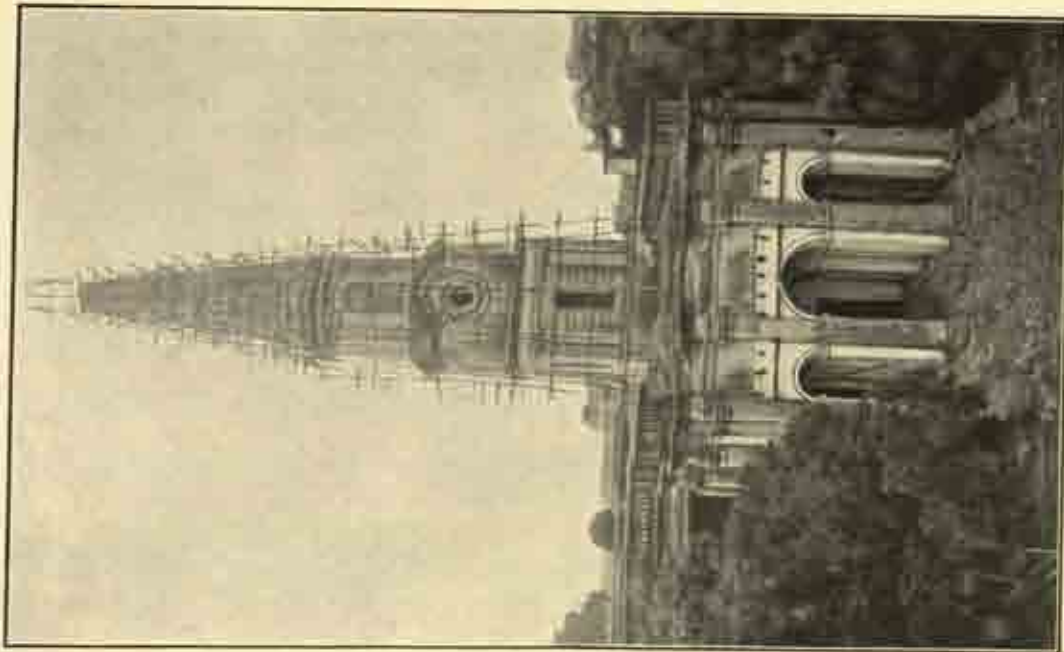
THE REV. E. C. STUART TAKES CHARGE ON BEHALF OF THE C. M. S.—
MINISTRIES OF WELLAND, PARKER, HARRINGTON, CLIFFORD, BROWN, GOULD-
SMITH, AND STUART CLARK.

On the death of Mr. Walters, the Old Mission Church passed into the third period of its history. During the first period, it was nominally connected with the S.P.C.K. During the second, it had been supplied with chaplains from the Company and Government. In its third period, it was to be more closely allied with the Church Missionary Society.

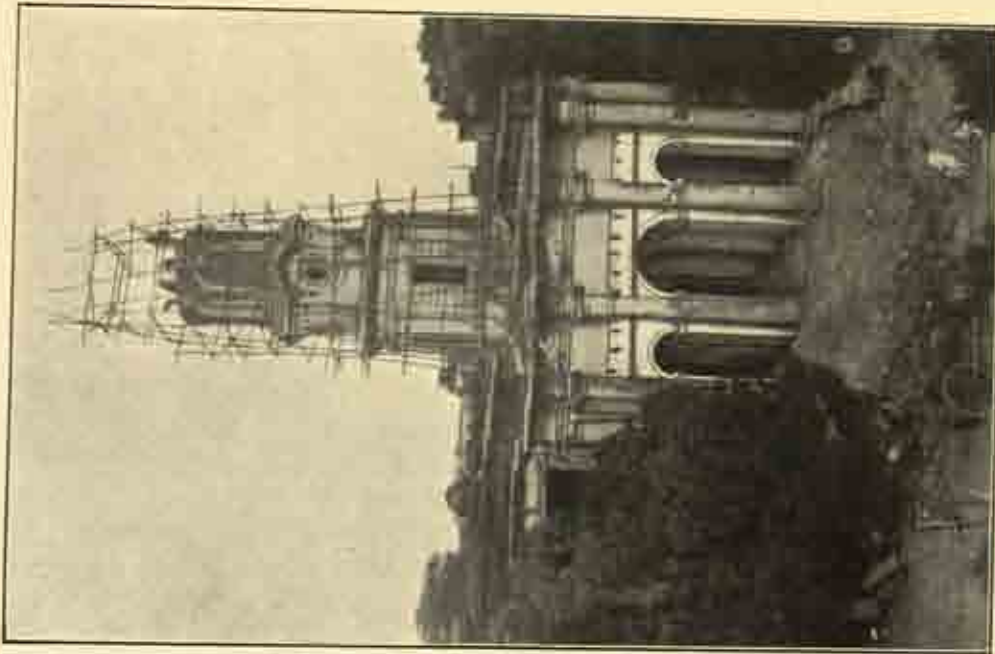
Hitherto the C. M. S. Secretary had lived first in 2 Mission Row and then in 12 Chowringhee. All the work of the Church Missionary Society in Bengal, in the U. P., the C. P. and in the Panjab had grown out from the Calcutta Committee's efforts; and the correspondence being heavy, two men acted as joint Secretaries for the Mission. They were comparatively free on Sundays, and naturally sought for some definite clerical duty in the city. As St. Thomas Free School Street was close to No. 12 Chowringhee, the Reverend E. C. Stuart and J. Barton practically, if not actually, took over charge of that Church for some years. Barton presented it with its organ, and Stuart with its pulpit.

Meanwhile correspondence had been pushed on by the Trustees of the Old Church with a view to the C.M.S. permanently undertaking to supply ministers for this Church. In return the Society was to receive the proceeds of the interest of the Fund, amounting with the then rent of No. 9 Mission Row to some Rs 5,000 per annum, as payment for the Minister's stipend, and the Society was to occupy No. 10 rent free. It is frequently erroneously stated that the Church was "made over" to the Society; but there was no legal transfer; and the Trustees, maintained in unbroken succession, have never abrogated their rights, nor made over the Trust property to any other body. It was merely an arrangement by which the Society was to supply the clergy, and receive a *quid-pro-quo* for their trouble in the shape of financial assistance.

The Rev. E. C. STUART, Secretary to the C.M.S. in Calcutta, had been assisting Mr. Walters with a view to this ultimate arrangement being made; and on Mr. Walter's death in December 1869 he took over charge of the Church, pending the completion of the negotiations with the C.M.S.



THE EARTHQUAKE OF JUNE 1897.



DEMOLITION OF THE SPIRE AFTER THE
EARTHQUAKE.

Mr. Stuart commenced the *Parochial Home* for destitute girls in 1871, and gave shelter at first to 10 girls. He also began a Friday evening Bible class for Society folk which continued for many years. In his time the aisles of the Church were floored with China marble which greatly improved its appearance.

In December 1871 there died Archdeacon Pratt, in whose memory a tablet was placed in the Church. It bears a long inscription.

In affectionate memory
of the Venerable JOHN HENRY PRATT, M.A. F.R.S.
Archdeacon of Calcutta.

And for 33 years a chaplain on the Bengal establishment
Eminent as a mathematician and man of science, he consecrated his attainments to the vindication of Revealed Truth, and in his treatise "Scripture and Science not at variance" he upheld the infallibility of that Divine Word on which his own heart reposed. As domestic chaplain to Bishop Wilson and for 22 years as Archdeacon of Calcutta he was loved & revered throughout the Diocese, while by his active interest in Missionary work and in varied labours in his Ecclesiastical Office and as a minister of Christ, he largely promoted the cause of religion in this land.

He died at Ghazepore on Visitation 28 Dec. 1871.

"Compassed about with so great a cloud of witnesses, let us run with patience the race that is set before us, looking unto Jesus, the author & finisher of our faith." Heb. XII.

On March 14, 1872 the Rev. E. C. Stuart was invalided home through dysentery and a sunstroke. The vestry placed on record their sense of the great obligations under which the Old Church stood to Mr. Stuart for all his laborious, earnest, and by God's good blessing efficient effort on its behalf. They acknowledged with gratitude his care to provide for the spiritual wants of the District, by the organization of the Old Church District Association, and the establishment of the Parochial Home for girls.

Meanwhile the negotiations with the C. M. S. had been satisfactorily concluded, and the Rev. JOSEPH WELLAND M.A. of Trinity College Dublin was appointed as first Incumbent under the patronage of the C.M.S. Mr. Welland had already been for 10 years a Missionary of the Society in Bengal, and loved preaching in the vernacular to Bengali congregations. He had been associated with Stuart as joint Secretary.

On Mr. Stuart's sudden retirement to England, Mr. Welland was called upon to fulfil the whole work, of the Secretary of the C. M. S. in addition to his work as Incumbent. The strain laid upon Mr. Welland was too much for any man, however strong, and it undoubtedly cut short a most useful and promising career. It was not till the close of the following year that he was joined by the Rev. Malcolm G. Goldsmith, who however only stayed a short time, being located by the C. M. S. to South India as Missionary to the Mohamedans in Hyderabad State. It was at that time hoped that Stuart would come back, but the Doctors absolutely refused to allow him to return to India. He went to Australia and shortly afterwards was appointed Bishop of Waiapu in New Zealand. After serving for 16 years in that Bishopric, he, like Bishop French (with whom he came out to St. John's College Agra in 1851), resigned his see, to become once again a simple Missionary in Persia. He died at Bengoe, Hertford in March 1911.

In the autumn of 1874 the Rev. ALFRED CLIFFORD M. A. was associated with Mr. Welland, until the latter went home in broken health in March 1876. Overwork and constant care had sown the seed of that malady from which he never recovered. It was feared that Mr. Welland would not be able to come back, but with indomitable zeal he returned in December of the same year, only on condition that he should spend the summer months at Simla. But Welland was not a man who could rest. As soon as he returned, he set Mr. Clifford free to go to the Nadia District, then in need of a superintending Missionary, and thus his own hands were again as full as ever. While in England he had collected Rs. 2,000 for a Parochial Hall or chapel of ease. He was keenly interested in the education of the children of the parish, and "Kennedy's School" was taken over by the vestry on the death of the proprietor in 1876, as the *Old Church Day School*.

Mr. Welland was a finished and graceful speaker, like his brother who was Bishop on the Irish Bench (Connor and Down). His sermons were original, and contained nothing fanciful or erratic, but were full of food for thought, nourishment for hungry souls. Probably the Old Church never had a better preacher or a more loving and sympathetic pastor. He was private chaplain to the Viceroy, Lord Northbrook, and took prayers regularly at Government House.

During his time the congregation greatly increased again, and the Church with its galleries was full.

While outwardly obeying the doctors' orders and spending the summer at Simla, he was hard at work all the time conducting the affairs of the C. M. S. Mission, as Secretary for all North India from Calcutta to Peshawar; he returned in the cold weather too ill for work. He passed away on December 17, 1879 aged only 45, and was buried in the little cemetery

belonging to the Church Missionary Society in Maniktolla, beside the Bengali Christians whom he loved.

A tablet to Mr. Welland is as follows:—

In memory of
JOSEPH WELLAND
who after labouring for ten years
as a missionary in Bengal
was appointed in 1871 minister of this Church
and Secretary of the Church Missionary Society
for North India.
Born 3rd December 1834 died 17th December 1879
"Thou wilt keep him in perfect peace whose
mind is stayed on Thee, because he trusteth in Thee."
Is XXVI. 3.

A portrait of Mr. Welland was painted at a cost of £50 subscribed by the congregation, and was hung in the parish room.

A well known figure in the congregation also departed this life about this time in the person of Robert Pitcher, the Scripture Reader in the Parish.

In Memory of
ROBERT PITCHER
Scripture Reader.
This tablet is erected by his friends
as a token of their grateful appreciation
of his faithful & affectionate
labour in Christ's cause in the
District of the Old or Mission Church
during a period of more than 30 years.
He died September 17th 1877
aged 57 years.
"Well done, thou good and faithful servant.
Enter thou into the Joy of thy Lord."

During Mr. Welland's absence at Simla, services had been conducted by his joint Secretary, the Rev. H. P. PARKER, and on Mr. Welland's death the Rev. C. S. HARRINGTON was appointed incumbent. He married Miss Parker. Mr. Harrington was 10 years at the Old Church being assisted by the Secretary of the C. M. S. who was Sunday Evening Lecturer. On Mr. Parker being appointed as Bishop of Eastern Equatorial Africa,

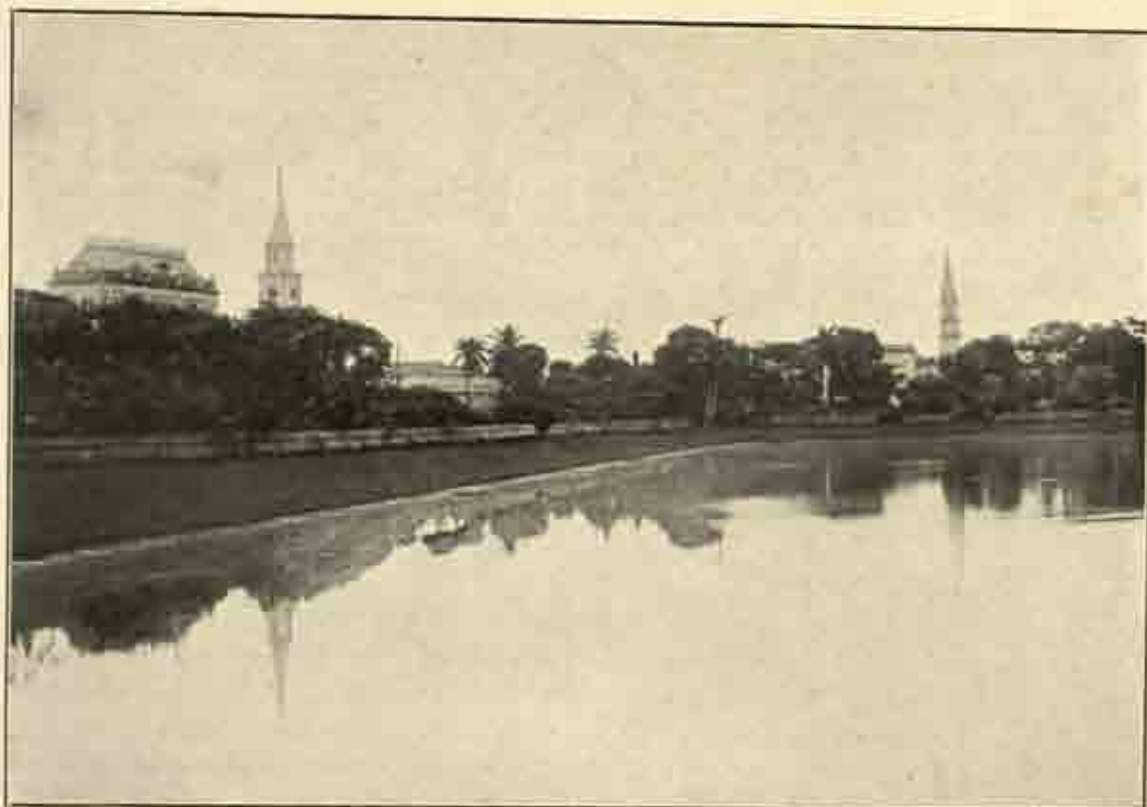
Mr. Clifford became C. M. S. Secretary, and thus returned to the Old Church pulpit. Bishop Parker died on the shores of the Victoria Nyanza in 1886. The tablet to Bishop Parker is as follows :—

In loving memory of
The Rt. Revd. HENRY PERROTT PARKER M. A. TRIN. Coll. Cam.
second Bishop of Eastern Equatorial Africa
and formerly corresponding Secy. C.M.S. for N. India;
and assistant minister of this Church.
Born at Upton Chancy, Gloucestersh. Sep. 22. 1832;
arrived in Calcutta Nov. 1878;
Became Missionary to the Gonds. Nov. 1885;
consecrated Bishop of E. E. Africa Oct. 18. 1886;
died of sickness at Wusambiro near the Victoria Nyanza
on Monday in Holy week March 26th 1886 aged 53 years.
"He that findeth his life shall lose it : and
he that loseth his life for My sake shall find it." Matt. x. 39.

Mr. Harington was no preacher, but he was an indefatigable visitor, and most sympathetic : and was dearly loved in the Parish. During his time the galleries, which had become rotten with age, were removed altogether, making the Church much more light and airy. In September 1881 a new organ arrived. It was brought from Messrs. Hills & Co. London, at a cost of £600, and the old one was sold for Rs. 200 to Colonel Gordon, for, I believe, Cawnpore Church.

In 1884 the fund which Mr. Welland had begun to collect amounted to Rs. 6,000 and with a Government grant of Rs. 20,000 it was decided to secure permanent site for the Old Church Day School. The *Welland Memorial Hall* was purchased, and on the school moving into the premises in January 1884 it was called the Welland Memorial School. Mr. Harington went home in March 1889; and after a short stay in England he went as chaplain to the Seychelles. He died in England in 1914.

The Rev. A. H. BOWMAN, M.A. Durham, took over charge in March 1889. He was an active visitor, a great temperance advocate, and an eloquent preacher. During his ministry it was found necessary to build an additional hall for the infant department at the Welland school; and accordingly this was done at a cost of Rs. 10,246 of which Government gave Rs. 4,976. The School was now graded as a middle school, and the attendance rose to 176. On account of his wife's health Mr. Bowman was not able to stay long in Calcutta. He left in December 1890, when the Rev. HERBERT GOULD.



THE SCOTCH KIRK & OLD CHURCH FROM THE POST OFFICE.



THE OLD CHURCH FROM THE SOUTH EAST.

SMITH M. A. Oxon, arrived. Mr. Gouldsmith was the first Oxford man to be incumbent of the Old Mission Church.

He was an active organizer. In November 1891 the *Free Day School* was started, in addition to the Welland School for paying students, and before many months had passed there were 100 children attending this new school: this institution is now known as the Gouldsmith Free Day School. The Welland School opened an entrance class, and so became a High school and had at this time 160 children; and Bishop Stuart's Parochial Home contained 26 girls.

In 1892 the North Transept was extended to form a new chancel, so as to be in full view of the majority of the congregation, who sat facing north in the large south transept which really formed the body of the Church. The old chancel at the East end was completely out of sight of the bulk of the congregation. The old chunam flooring covered with Calcutta grass matting, was now removed and the floor laid with cement made a warm red colour with oxide of iron, which was supposed to be a new process at the time.

On January 15, 1893 the Rev. A. Clifford was consecrated Bishop of Lucknow, in St. Paul's Cathedral Calcutta, being the first Bishop to be actually consecrated in India. In the spring Mr. Eugene Stock of the C. M. S. and the Rev. Robert Stewart of Foochow paid a brief visit to the Mission.

In this year the School Building Fund was commenced to build a permanent home for the Free Day School and Parochial Home.

In January 1894 the Rev. E. N. Thwaites and the Rev. J. Martin Hall conducted a Mission for ten days at the Old Church.

The *Old Church Hebrew Mission* was started in April. Perhaps one should say "revived," for the Rev. G. Lovely took considerable interest in the Jews in Calcutta and did some work amongst them, but now a school was opened in the Chitpore Road and definite work organized by the Grenon family and by Mr. Kalberer, members of the congregation.

In November the Rev. Jani Alli died. A Mohamedan convert from the Noble College Masulipatam, he graduated at Cambridge, was ordained and came as C. M. S. Missionary to Mohamedans in India. He built the Garden Reach School, and conducted Hindustani services in the Old Church Room, and sometimes preached in the Church.

A tablet records of him—

In memory of
The Rev. JANI ALLI, M. A. Cantab.
who was baptized at Masulipatam
in 1855 by the Rev. Robert Noble.
As Missionary of the C. M. S. to Mohamedans
from 1877 till his death in Calcutta Oct. 21, 1894,
he served his Master by a holy life
ever intent on doing good.
"This one thing I do, forgetting those things
which are behind." Phil. 3-13.

In January 1895 Mr. G. H. Kiernander, a great grandson of the founder of the Old Church, gave Rs. 5,000 towards the School Building Fund which had now grown to Rs. 30,000. Good Friday collections with self-denial cards produced Rs. 2,000.

In August Mr. G. H. Kiernander gave a further gift of Rs. 3,000 for a stained glass window for the new Chancel. It is a pity that this beautiful window is marred by an error in the inscription which wrongly states that the Church was built in 1772 instead of 1770,—an error afterwards copied on the marble slab placed on the doorpost at the entrance to the compound.

Christ Church Cornwallis Square was now rebuilt by the C. M. S. who refunded to the Evangelical Fund its original cost. It was re-consecrated on August 24 by Bishop Clifford on behalf of the Metropolitan.

The organ was repaired at a cost of Rs. 1,200. A Temperance Boarding House was started; and Mr. J. N. Stuart presented a brass lectern, and Mr. H. T. Weston a brass almsdish to the Church.

In November the Rev. A. W. and Mrs. Crockett arrived, he having been appointed as assistant minister at the Mission Church. Miss Young also came as lady visitor.

In March 1896 the Rev. H. Gouldsmith went on furlough to England leaving the church in charge of the Rev. C. G. MYLREA of the C. M. S. and also Mr. Crockett. Mr. Gouldsmith returned in February 1897, and in the same month Mr. and Mrs. Crockett were obliged to go home through ill health.

June 1897 was marked by the severest shock of earthquake ever felt in Calcutta. It is generally spoken of as the Shillong earthquake, as that place was destroyed by it, being near the centre of disturbance. Every spire in

Calcutta was lopped off for a distance of several feet, as was the Old Church spire. On further examination, it was found that the lower arches of the tower of the Mission Church had been so seriously damaged that it would be not only unsafe to rebuild the spire, but necessary to pull down the tower. Our pictures show the process of demolition. The tower was no doubt the original tower built by Kiernander, but the spire was perhaps the third that had adorned it. The original spire of Kiernander's was almost a cube, as shewn in the picture by Daniells, which is said to be of the date 1787, when the church was but seventeen years old. The second spire of 1805 somewhat "improved" the appearance of the Church, but it was still square or pyramidal; the stages of the tower were also square with pinnacles at each corner as seen in the picture of that time. The third spire, built as we suppose in 1835 was by far the most elegant and finished of the three. The two upper stages of the tower were altered in shape and the spire was octagonal. It stood alone, the insignificant little pinnacles having been wisely removed. It is well shewn in our other pictures of the Old Church in 1890 and 1897.

During the demolition and clearing away of the foundations in order to build a new portico, a most interesting discovery was made. When removing the front part of the west steps of the Church, slabs of hard red sand-plastering were disclosed, pointed with white. These slabs were analysed and found to contain 60% of oxide of iron, very much like the new process flooring of the Church! Evidently the Church was originally covered with oblong blocks of this dark red plaistering, with white pointing in the grooves between the red slabs. Hence the name "Lal" or Red. Old Fort William with its Black Hole bastion is said to have had a precisely similar facing. A specimen of this red plaister was framed and hung up in the vestry, as an interesting relic of the past. The new porch cost Rs. 13,000.

The Rev. H. D. Williamson, who as Secretary of C. M. S. had helped in the preaching, went home and was succeeded by the Rev. W. H. Ball. In December the Rev. C. L. Olsen came out as assistant.

During this year the Kindergarten Department of the Welland School was opened, and was the first of its kind in India.

In February 1898 the Rev. S. A. Selwyn came from England to hold a ten days Mission at the Old Church.

A boy's brigade was started with a roll of 52.

In December 1898 the Church suffered a great loss by the death of Mr. Stephen Jacob who was one of the Trustees of the Church. A tablet was raised:—

In
loving memory of
STEPHEN JACOB C.S.I.
of the Indian Civil Service
who fell asleep in Jesus

Sunday morning December 11, 1898
aged 48 years.

This stone has been erected by many of
his friends as an expression of their love
and esteem, for one whose devotion to his
God and to his country was manifest in
all that he did.

Many lives have been enriched by his
Christian character, his wise advice and his
unstinting liberality.

"He being dead, yet speaketh."

In January 1899 Bishop Welldon was enthroned Bishop of Calcutta in succession to Bishop Johnson who had retired after a long episcopate.

Mr. G. H. Kiermader died on May 14. He had previously made over his property to the Old Church Educational and Charitable Society, to be known as the Kiermader Endowment Trust.

In October, after the usual repairs, electric fans and lights were put into the Church, which thus was the first Church in Calcutta to adopt electricity.

In January 1900 Mrs. Gouldsmith fell seriously ill, and both Mr. and Mrs. Gouldsmith regretfully said farewell to the Old Church, and went home to England, where Mr. Gouldsmith became successively Vicar of Hendon Sunderland, of Bishop Auckland, and of Bishop Wearmouth. He is a canon of Durham.

The Rev. E. T. Sandys, who was appointed acting Secretary of the C.M.S. in place of Canon Ball, thereupon invited the Rev. A. H. Bowman, who was in Bombay, to take temporary charge of the Old Church, which he did for a period of 7 months till the autumn.

In December 1900 the Rev. **STUART HARRINGTON CLARK** arrived as Incumbent. A son of the famous Rev. Robert Clark, who was C. M. S. Secretary in the Punjab, he bore the names of two former incumbents of the Old Church. Bishop Stuart was his god-father and he was called after him. Mr. Harrington was an old friend of the family, and he was called after him also.

The school building fund having grown to nearly Rs. 70,000 under Mr. Gouldsmith's fostering care, the Parochial Home and Gouldsmith Free Day School settled into their new quarters in Bowbazar purchased from this fund.



THE PORCH BUILT IN 1897, AND STUART CLARK
INSTITUTE, BUILT IN 1909.



THE CHANCEL IN 1911.

In March 1901 the Rev. C. L. Olsen was invalided home and the Rev. S. H. Clark was left alone.

The scholars in the Free Day School rose to 208.

A scheme was set on foot for a Boarding Home for young women in business, and gradually grew under Mr. Clark's guidance.

In January 1902 the Rev. L. K. and Mrs. Marton arrived to help at the Old Church.

In April 1903 the Rev. A. Stark died. His family had been for very long time connected with the Old Church. Mr. Stark was an admirable, though only too rare, an instance of an ordained Eurasian Missionary. For very many years he worked in the Santal Mission, and then latterly in Calcutta, and conducted the Hindustani services in the Old Church Room. A memorial tablet was placed in the Church, and a portrait of him hung in the Old Church Room.

Sacred to the memory of the
Rev: ALFRED STARK
Born in Calcutta July 11, 1834
Honoured & beloved he passed away to God at Simla
26th April 1903 in his 69th year.
he was a master of the Doveton College 11 years
and a devoted C.M.S. worker 43 years
Ordained in 1870 for the Santal Mission
he laboured amongst them and the Paharis 23 years.
Conjointly he translated the Gospels, Prayerbook and Hymns
into Santhali; singly the Prayerbook into Malto Pahari;
but forbore to print it on hearing a senior Missionary
had a translation ready.
God gave him the "gift of tongues." He preached in 5
vernaculars. As Pastor of Trinity Church 8 years his
duties included work among Hindi, Bengali & Hindusthani
people & lepers in the asylum Calcutta. The last 4 years
of his life were spent in the Mohamedan Mission Kidderpore
& as minister of the Hindusthani members of this Church.
His ministry was blessed to many and he
had the joy of baptising 1000 souls.
This tablet is erected to the memory of a most affectionate
husband and father by his sorrowing widow and children.
"And they that be wise shall shine as the brightness of
the firmament and they that turn many to righteous-
ness as the stars for ever and ever. Dan. 12:3.

In June 1903 the *Welcome Home* or Young Women's Boarding Home was begun in a rented house. The number of children in the Welland school was 157, and 88 in the Kindergarten Department.

In this year the *Ward Missions Scheme* was started by the Rev. E. T. Sandys, for placing a preacher or two, and a reading room or preaching hall, in every ward in the northern part of the city; and the Old Mission Church joined heartily in it, undertaking to support a great deal of work in the Old Church District.

In December 1904 Mrs. Morton died, and the Rev. L. K. Morton, after taking his children home, was transferred to Trinity Church, Allahabad. Mr. Clark was thus again left alone, at great risk of breakdown from overstrain.

In December 1906 the Rev. S. D. Hinde assisted at the Church until Mr. Clark's furlough, in November 1907, when the Rev. W. C. G. Cubison, Vicar of St. Andrew's Streatham, came to relieve him bringing his curate the Rev. T. Lenman along with him. Mr. Cubison returned to England at the end of the year; and the Rev. E. T. Sandys was asked to take charge until a new Incumbent could be found, the Rev. S. H. Clark being unable to return through overstrain.

In January 1906 a great fire took place in Messrs. Ralli Brother's godowns immediately adjoining the Mission premises on the east and threatened to destroy No. 10. A change in the direction of the flames saved the Mission house, which had now just completed one century of its existence. A year or two later Mr. Galstaun's large warehouse, occupied by Ralli Brothers, was erected on the burnt-out premises, greatly to the detriment of the Mission compound, and the Trustees felt compelled to buy in a plot of land in the east of No. 11, in order to prevent utter extinction by these enormous buildings, at a cost of Rs. 25,000. About the same time the lease of No. 9 fell due, and the Trustees decided to spend Rs. 30,000 on improving the building and raising the rent.

It had for some time been felt that the arrangement made in 1870 with the C. M. S. had not worked altogether satisfactorily as far as the corpus of the fund was concerned; for the fact that the C. M. S. took all the proceeds of the income, had led the Trustees in the past to take but little interest in building up the Fund, and it had not grown. The Evangelical Ministry had been maintained, it is true, and the C. M. S. had not failed to send good men and true as Incumbents; but at the same time the Church had not always had the services of two men, and the growing demands of the Parish required the presence of two whole-time clergy. These considerations led the Trustees to re-consider the position, and to make a new arrangement whereby the Honorary Secretary of the C. M. S. is invited to

act, in conjunction with a board of nomination, composed of former friends and Trustees who have retired, in seeking out suitable men for the ministry of this Church.

The Trustees in Calcutta keep the actual appointment in their own hands and pay their clergy direct from the Evangelical Fund: the C.M.S. having to pay rent for 10 Mission Row, and receiving in return an annual donation towards the local work of the C.M.S. in Bengal.

During 1908 Mr. Edward Haskew died. He was the superintendent of one of the Sunday Schools, and a quiet but regular parish worker. A Brass was erected—

In memory of
EDWARD L. W. HASKEW
a teacher & supdt. Bowbazar Sunday School
and an officer in the Boys Brigade.
Died Jan. 12, 1908
aged 38.
Erected by fellow teachers & friends
"A brother beloved."

CHAPTER VI

A NEW CHAPTER OPENING.

We saw at the end of our last chapter that a new arrangement had been made, and consequently the clergy appointed to the Old Church are no longer missionaries on the C.M.S. staff. They are on the Evangelical Fund pure and simple, though the Honorary Secretary of the C.M.S. may have a large hand in the selection of suitable men. This opens out therefore a new chapter in the history of the Old Church, and it remains to be seen how it will work out.

In February 1909 the Rev. F. B. Hadow arrived to take charge as Incumbent under this new arrangement. During the year, Mr. Stuart Clark's fund for a Boarding House for young women, having amounted to Rs. 30,000 a building was erected in the Mission compound, to the north of the Church, and called the Stuart Clark Institute.

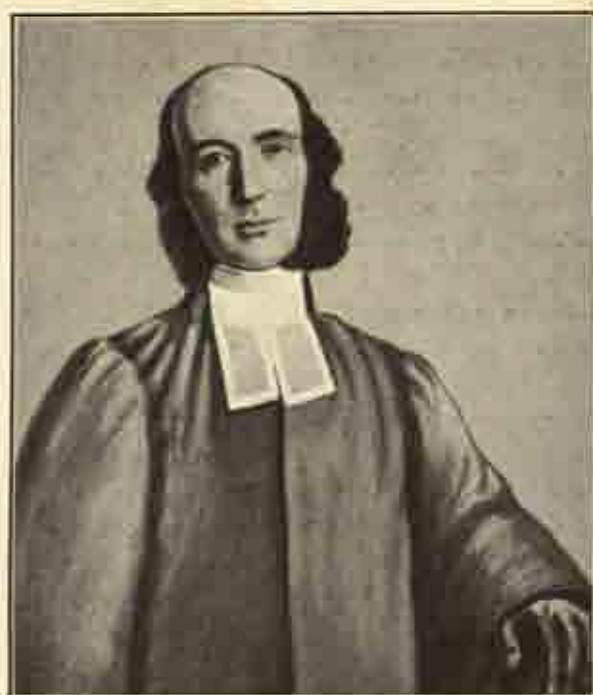
In November the Rev. A. H. Bowman came for a third period of service at the Church, having offered to help Mr. Hadow until an assistant could be found. His ministry proved acceptable to many and at the end of 11 months he left, receiving at his farewell meeting a handsome gift in the shape of a purse of Rs. 1,300 as a token of the respect in which he was held by the congregation.

In February 1910 a well-known figure was missed from the congregation. Mr. Cashman had long been foremost in every good word and work, and his death removed a valued worker.

In November 1910 the Rev. J. Sanderson arrived to help Mr. Hadow. During this year Mr. J. C. Jary presented a new Communion Table, and Mr. Doris brass Communion rails, and Mr. Coward a New Bible for the Lectern.

The number of girls in the Parochial Home has been doubled, so that now there are 70 children in it. Mr. Hadow also initiated a *Bazaar Mission and Settlement Scheme* in Copalitola—the "place of a skull"—off Bowbazar. A large native house was bought for one lac of rupees; and there a Boys' Home was begun which rapidly grew to 80 boys. The money for the purchase of this property was borrowed from Diocesan Funds in the hands of the Bishop and Archdeacon, towards the repayment of which over Rs. 40,000 has already been put by.

The Rev. W. J. and Mrs. Wright came out in February 1912, his services being lent by the C. M. S. for 3 years. The Rev. J. Sanderson left shortly afterwards; Mr. Wright's services terminated in the spring of 1915 and the



THE REV. H. THOMAS.



THE VEN'BLE ARCHDEACON DEALTRY,
AFTERWARDS BISHOP OF
MADRAS.



BUST OF ARCHDEACON DEALTRY
BY STEVENS, PIMLICO, 1848.



THE REV. M. D. C. WALTERS.



BISHOP STUART.



THE REV. J. WELLAND.



THE REV. G. LOVELY.



THE REV. A. CLIFFORD.



THE REV. C. S. HARINGTON.



THE REV. A. H. BOWMAN.



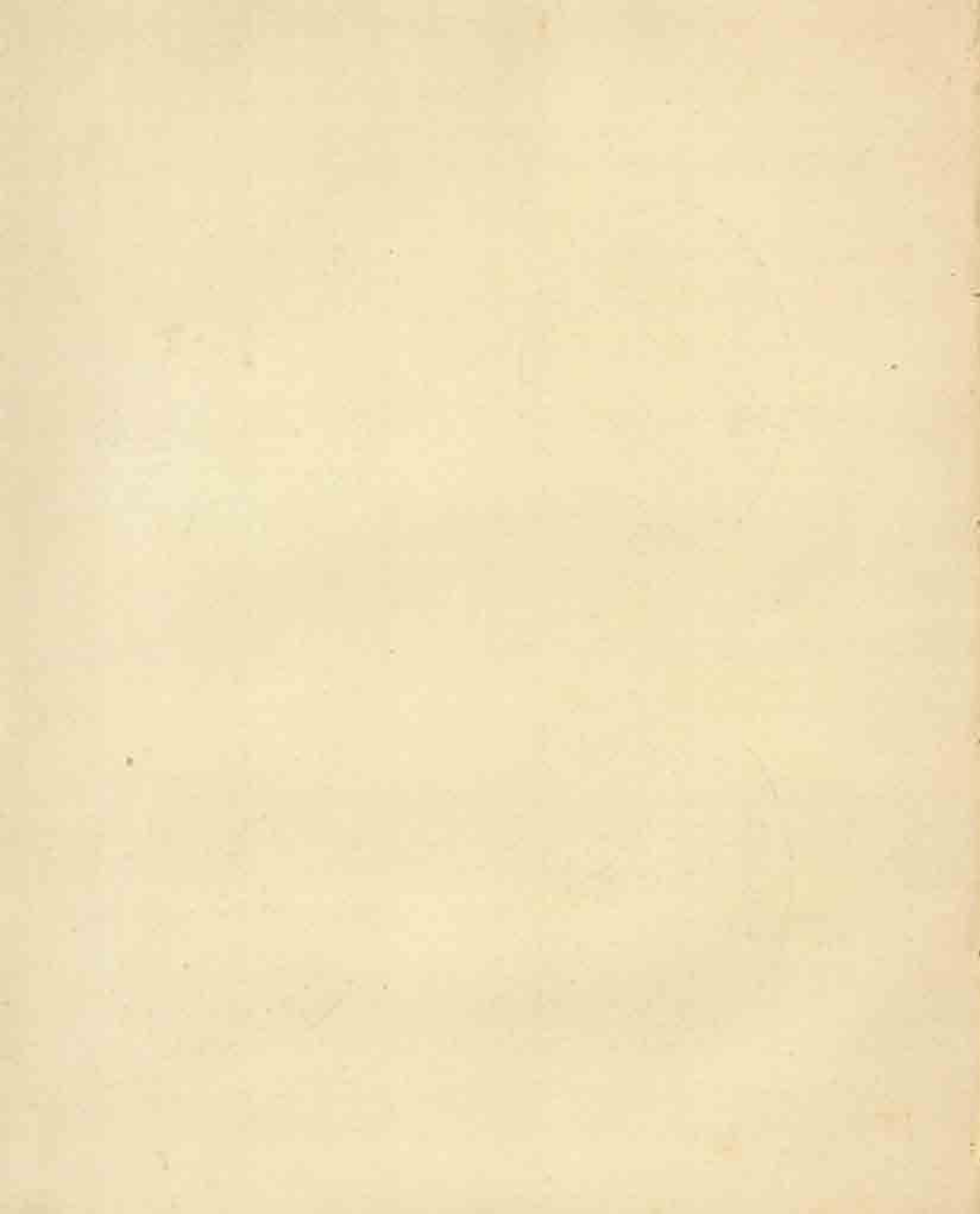
THE REV. H. GOULDSMITH.



THE REV. S. H. CLARK.



THE REV. F. B. HADOW.



Rev. C. Vethecan, Head Master of the Welland School was ordained, and appointed as assistant minister. Mr Hadow has also secured the services of three lady workers in the parish from England.

But here we must leave our chapter unended.

The work of God goes on without decay if only we press on in faith and prayer. May not only the spirit of the past, but the Spirit of the Lord, be upon all His workers at the Old Mission Church. It is a great thing to follow in the steps of a succession of great and good men; but nothing but the grace of God can keep alive the same spirit and loyalty to Evangelical Truth, which has marked out in such a special degree the Old Church from its earliest days.

To any who wish to know more about the present condition of the Church, the Annual Report of the Church's work during the past year will show how actively the Old Church leads the way in philanthropic work on behalf of the poor Eurasian and European population of this great City.

E. T. SANDYS.

[To be continued].

The Letters of Mr. Richard Barwell—VI.

No. CXLIX.

CALCUTTA,

The 8th February, 1770.

TO ANSELM BEAUMONT, ESQ.

[Of no interest].

No. CL.

CALCUTTA,

The 8th February, 1770.

TO ANSELM BEAUMONT, ESQ.

[Of no interest].

No. CLI.

CALCUTTA,

The 8th February, 1770.

TO THOMAS RUMBOLD, ESQ.

My dear Rumbold,

Was I to defer writing because nothing material has occurred since your departure, you might look upon me more as your intelligencer than a correspondent whose esteem influences him to intrude upon you as often as opportunities occur and a vacant hour permits him to exercise the pen. My wishes for your prosperity I have already signified; and, as you know these to be most hearty and sincere, a repetition is needless. I have committed you to the charge of your good fortune, and to that and your own merits I now leave you. It is, however, a difficult undertaking to counteract the intrigues of designing men, to conciliate the jarring interests of the selfish, and, despite of many other lesser obstacles, to seize on the object of our pursuits, and to rise superior to the calumny and the envy which distinguish meaner spirits. Yet this is the task you have to perform and a most arduous

one it is. Our friend Wilkins left Calcutta about ten days ago. I had the pleasure to entertain him at Dumdum on his way to Chittagong. Reid still delays his departure thence, and I believe will do his utmost to enrich himself during the short period he has to stay there, and that he will stay there as long as he can; but as the procrastination he has been guilty of has been already remarked, it will not long be left in his power to protract the time, unless he chuses to remain at Chittagong a private gentleman. I wish Wilkins may not in some degree find his interests affected by the management of his predecessor. Supervisors have not yet been appointed to the districts of Behar. The Chiefship continues as in your time, and I imagine will remain so until some changes be made by the Commissioners expected from England.* Mr. Cartier is not very well pleased at the news of a Commission that supersedes his authority and in fact annuls his power. Others, as they are less affected, are more indifferent. The gentlemen from Madras do not seem to apprehend a remove, and I very much fear my wish that they be returned to Madras will not be answered.

Gocul† delivered me a letter from Knott, and I expected, from what Wilkins said, it was from you; but whether from you or from Knott, Gocul's connections certainly entitled him to any assistance I can afford; but, faith! I believe he is much more capable to assist me than I him.

No. CLII.

CALCUTTA,

The 8th February, 1770.

TO HIS FATHER.

Honored and dear Sir,

Since my last I have been favored with your letters per *Lapwing* and *Fox*; that per latter ship enclosed by my brother James is a very short one, the other is dated the 1st June. The change in the Direction, as I imagined, has produced a change here; for the powers of the Governor and Council cannot be said to exist whilst a controuling authority is vested in others. Tho' the publick advices inform us of the appointment of Messrs. Vansittart, Ford and Scrafton, some are so weak or so designing as to pretend (or) to believe that those gentlemen will not proceed for India in consequence. For the Court of Proprietors, they say, will doubtless disapprove of the measure and check the Directors for adopting new modes in the management of their affairs abroad; and this belief they attempt to impose on the Settlement in

* Vansittart, Scrafton and Colonel Ford. They were lost at sea in the *Aurora*.

† Gocul Chandra Ghosal of Bhukailas Raj Family.

general, the majority of which is as indifferent to the man who governs whilst the government is the same, as all people unconnected with the instruments of rule must naturally be.

The instance of Mr. Wilkes I confess shews the pride of power in the strongest light possible. I see it and I tremble. Yet, despite of every precaution, I at times prove so unfortunate as to run counter to the prudential maxims you commend and I approve. One instance of my folly will appear from the enclosed. I hope, however, that the Board's censure in March '69 will not affect me. Had I known of it before, it should not have been so long unnoticed, but so ungenerous were the Madras Gentlemen that no copy of the paragraph which censured me was sent to me. I was kept in perfect ignorance that such a paragraph had been inserted in any of their general letters, until I became a member of their Board, and they could not deny to me a perusal of those letters. This meanness of conduct in them I have not remarked in my address of the 25th of last month, as it must have irritated and would not in any respect have tended to promote the end I had in view.

The second paragraph of your letter regarding my brother James gives me some hopes. In your former letters you told me you would not be able to get him a ship. In this, after remarking the inutility of your past endeavors to obtain him leave to build, you say you are much afraid you may find great difficulty to come at a ship for him. This implies, however, that you have some expectation of succeeding, although not very sanguine. If a thousand pounds or even so much as two thousand pounds, contributed by me will ensure him success, I beg you will advance it for my account, and the same shall be certainly reimbursed. The sea to which James has been bred is the element on which he must gain independence, and however unpromising to him may be the present prospect, I flatter myself fortune will befriend him.

Remember me to my dear Mother and believe me etc.

No. CLIII.

CALCUTTA,

The 20th February, 1770.

TO THOMAS PEARSON, ESQ.

Dear Pearson,

I have the pleasure to inform you that Mrs. Mapletoft's salary (at the instance of Mr. Cartier) is continued to her, but whether she will be paid the arrears due to her is at present doubtful. It has been moved for and

objected to, but I think the objections are to be overruled, as they are trifling in themselves, and when made, kindness to her was the reason assigned for noncompliance. It was observed that so large a sum as the arrears due amounted to would attract the notice of the Directors and in all probability deprive her of the salary. Irwin has been appointed to the mint at Muxadavad at which the black gentlemen are not pleased. I wish with all my heart he may not be affected by the machinations of those whose particular interests lead them to attempt at his ejection.

The Military Code that should have been formed during Mr. Verelst's government has now the attention of Mr. Cartier, General Barker, C. R[ussell], C. F., and F. H[are]. Their labors, it is possible, may do them honor, — for the task is in my opinion difficult and requires not only a perfect knowledge of military affairs but a sound judgment. The next ship will give you an idea of what the wise are capable of when two or three are gathered together. Cossim Ally Cawn who has so long lived in obscurity has set up his standard among the Jauts. You may recollect the extraordinary account we received about the latter end of 1768 of the assassination of their chief. The brothers have ever since been at variance and have alternately solicited Somro to join his forces to theirs, and each in his turn has been duped by that artful villain. Under the guise of an ally the besieging army allowed him to approach, the commander of which he amused until he had made his terms with the eldest of the brothers who held the killah of Agra. He then threw off the mask, and, instead of joining the besiegers, entered Agra with all his force. The riches of the Jaut and his authority (for he is now no more than the shadow of a prince) is thus rendered subservient to the views of Cossim Ally Cawn, for under his auspices I do imagine Somro has acted. It was soon after this stroke of policy that the bloody scoundrel left his retirement. He is at present in the neighbourhood of Agra (I have forgot the name of the fortress he resides in) and assumes the state of a prince, is attended by a large body of horse, and is the present subject of conversation at the Court of Suja-ul Dowlah.

The whole country about Delhi is up in arms; the Sikhs, Rohillas, Morattas are all in motion; the latter, it is said, at the instigation of Cossim Ally Cawn. But as to that murderer's intrigues affecting Bengal (which some are pleased to apprehend), I think it the most ridiculous notion that could have been conceived. As I have written to you, I do imagine it is needless to trouble Mr. Verelst with a recapitulation of what I have here communicated. Therefore make as good an apology as you can for me to the late Hon'ble the Governor.

[The 1st Vol. of the MSS. ends with the above letter : Vol. 11 commences with the next letter, dated 16 February 1770].

NO. CLIV.

CALCUTTA,

The 16th February, 1773.

TO SAMUEL MIDDLETON, ESQ.

Dear Middleton,

I enclose you a summons to be served on Juggut Chund.* If publick business or the immaterialness of his evidence should be pleaded by him to excuse a compliance with the summons be so good as to inform me as soon as possible. The Commissioners have been long in expectation of Raja Nun Comar's producing this evidence (Juggut Chund). Why he has not he best knows. I only dread the imputation of not having done all that was in my power to effect it. My particular station exposes me to the reflection of men who may not be thoroughly acquainted with all I have done to unravel the matter in litigation between Nun Comar and Burdett, and should any of Nun Comar's evidence† evade appearing before the Commissioners the ignorant may prejudice my character by a thousand fallacious suggestions, especially that of not having influenced Juggut Chund to repair to Calcutta. You will oblige me much therefore by delivering the enclosed Persian letters to Juggut Chund, the Nobob and to the Begum, and by writing to Gregory yourself on the subject, for it was he who confided to my charge the execution of his commission from the Court of Chancery.

NO. CLV.

CALCUTTA,

The 29th April, 1773.

TO GEORGE ROBERTSON, ESQ., AT DINAGEPORE.

[Of no interest]

NO. CLVI.

CALCUTTA,

The 29th April, 1773.

TO MR. FRANCIS PEACOCK.

Dear Sir,

I am obliged by your answer to my address of the 28th March prior to which I received your letter respecting a purchase of salt. The sale of this

* Of the Seth family of bankers.

† i. e. witnesses.

article will in a very few days be commenced, but I imagine the very high price at which it will sell must prove an obstacle to any views European gentlemen may have upon it. However, if it is agreeable to you to engage in it, and you will fix a percentage on the amount you want at Carragolah (for I would not chuse to run the risk of the Cossee river), I should have no objection to supplying you with any quantity, so that it does not interfere by your carrying it to the marts of Bagglepore and Sultangunje with Mr. Barton's commerce. The footing on which I am willing to supply you with the salt is as follows: 1st, I will not be tyed down to the delivery of it at any specified time, but if you will furnish boats I will take care they shall be immediately loaded and dispatched to you: 2nd, I will advance the money and purchase the salt at as cheap a rate as is in my power: 3rd, I will be at the risk of the river as far as Carragolah, and bear all losses which may arise from the risk of boats, but the boats of salt when they arrive at Carragolah shall be received by you agreeably to invoice without any deduction of short weight: 4th, and in order to secure you from any clandestine practices of the Bengally Sircars, your own weighmen shall attend and see to the weight and loading of the salt in Calcutta and accompany the fleets and be answerable to you, or if you have no such people that you can send down, the people who weigh the salt and ship it I will engage for a monthly pay to attend the fleets and answer to you for more than the customary deficiency. This is to secure you and free myself from the adjustment of troublesome accounts and controversys on a subject that might and does afford too many and frequent occasions for cavalling: 5th, If you will supply me with boats and transport the salt, any advances which may be made to the *mangees* and *burdars* by me at your desire or from the agency of the service shall be charged on account with only a premium at the rate of 10 per cent. annum. Thus whatever profit you chuse to offer me, will only prove upon the invoice price of the salt. The charges of transportation I would propose should be yours in which I shall have no concern further than to advance money on your account for those charges if necessary: 6th, a premium of 30 per cent. is proposed upon the salt that shall arrive at Carragolah, and if it does not suit your convenience to pay the money you must stipulate for such part as you can pay to be paid for such part as you cannot pay for you must fix a time for payment for which I am ready to take your bond at the rate of 10 per cent per annum. N. B. I cannot supply the salt under 30 per cent. It is, therefore, needless to propose lower terms.

Having about 5,500 maunds of beetlenutt lying at Rajc Gunge in Dinagapore which I want to transport to Patna, and even higher up if I cannot meet with ready market for it there, I am to request you will, if it lays in your power, supply me with the necessary numbers of boats on freight.

They must not on any account burthen above 700 maunds and not less than 300; and, further if it suits you, to dispose of the boats when they shall have performed their voyage. I will take them off your hands if your price is moderate, or else my agent shall sell them for you or do anything else with them you may be pleased to direct. N. B. The boats if you are able to supply me with any should be sent as soon as possible to Raje Gunge, and you should advise Mr. Robertson, the Supervisor of Dinagepore, that you have received a letter from me to transport 3,500 maunds of beetlenutt from Dinagepore to Patna, but that you will send him boats for that purpose as early as the season admits, because I have desired Mr. Robertson to hire boats if possible to convey the beetlenut to Patna which there will be no occasion for if you can let me have boats.

If you are not engaged to any particular person in Calcutta, I could wish you to make your consignments to Mr. Cator. His knowledge and punctuality in matters of commerce I am convinced will give you much satisfaction.

No. CLVII

CALCUTTA,

15th May, 1773.

TO SAMUEL MIDDLETON, ESQ.

[Of no interest.]

No. CLVIII.

CALCUTTA.

The 26th May, 1773.

TO THOMAS HINCHMAN, ESQ.

Dear Sir,

As I wish to make a purchase of your Maulda investment, should it prove agreeable to you, I request the favor of you to send me by the earliest opportunity musters of the goods with the prices affixed to each assortment and the quantity you can provide and the periods of delivery. I particularly wish to make a large investment of the flowered cossaes 40×3 and $40 \times 2\frac{1}{2}$ and to have the flowers rather better worked than any of the Company's goods. I would not scruple to give one rupee or one rupee and half more than is usually paid on flowering the cloths. Any advance of cash you may want I am ready to make if the prices are such on the musters as to answer my purpose. My reason for chusing to contract by muster is that I may depend on the goodness of the cloths and be under no mistake in point of

quality and price, a disappointment too often experienced by the provision of goods on commission.

No. CLIX.

CALCUTTA,

The 8th June, 1773.

TO FRANCIS PEACOCK, ESQ.

Sir,

At the request of Mr. Barwell I now enclose you an engagement respecting the salt he proposed delivering you which you will be pleased to fill up the date of, execute in presence of two witnesses and return to him who notwithstanding the delivery is thereby confined to Carragola, yet he will deliver it at any other place that shall be thought more convenient to you, provided Mr. Barwell doth not think his risk will be increased by such alteration though the tenor of your said engagement is to stand as it is.

Mr. Barwell hath already engaged 18,000 maunds of salt at Culneah which is ready for delivery as soon as you send a European to meet one there. Mr. Barwell will appoint one for that purpose. There will be boats ready to transport 8,000 maunds of it in 10 days after the arrival of the Europeans and boats to carry the remainder will be made ready as soon as possible. The other 12,000 maunds to make up the 30,000 maunds mentioned in the engagement will be ready as soon as possible in Calcutta where Mr. Barwell also wishes you would send or appoint some European to see the loading of it.

I am etc,

J. C[ATOR].

Then follow letters:

No.	clx.	No date.	1773	V. C[ator]	to S. Middleton.	Salt Business.
"	clxi.	23 June.	"	R. B.	to Henry Grant.	"
"	clxii.	3 July.	"	J. C.	to Thomas Tulloh.	"
"	clxiii.	do.	"	J. C.	to Samuel Charters at Jessore.	"
"	clxiv.	16 July.	"	do.	to Robert Crawford at Dacca.	"
"	clxv.	30 "	"	R. B.	to Samuel Charters.	"
"	clxvi.	do.	"	J. C.	to Thomas Tulloh.	"
"	clxvii.	2 August.	"	J. C.	to do.	"
"	clxviii.	10 "	"	R. B.	to William Lushington.	Bill.
"	clxix.	do.	"	R. B.	to P. M. Dacres.	"
"	clxx.	31 do.	"	R. B. at	Dacca to Captain Roddam.	"

[Of no interest].

No. CLXXI.

ON THE ROAD TO DACCA,

17th August, 1773.

TO MISS MARY BARWELL.

My dear Sister,

I shall take another hour to make that full reply and to return you those thanks which your kind attentions are so much entitled to. At present let it suffice that I just say I have received your two letters nos. 1 and 2 dated the 25th and 28th November 1772. I have received a letter from Daniel of the 10th of last month from Bombay; he was well and expected to be in Bengal some time in September. I propose his stay in Calcutta to be as short as possible, as it will be much more eligible for him to be situated with me than to be continued at the Presidency where he can only spend money without any possibility of my being able to assist him in accumulating any.

A young gentleman of the name of Bathurst recommended to my friend Mr. Lushington having occasion for a sum of money and proposing to give me a bill for £600 sterling, I have advanced him to that amount, and send you the bill enclosed. I own I have my doubts of the payment of the bill, but as I shall not leave India before I can be as certain whether the bill is a good bill or not, I thought it as well to run the risk, as opportunities of making a remittance do not often offer when the Company's cash is short. I flatter myself, however, that the bill may be paid, in which case, as I do not advise my attorneys of it, you will dispose of the money in such a manner as you may judge proper.

No. CLXXII.

ON THE ROAD TO DACCA,

August 19th, 1773.

TO MISS [FRANCES] BARWELL.

My dear Sister,

Of all the pleasures of life the kind concern of our friends constitute the chiefest, the part they take in our fortunes, whether prosperous or otherwise, equally sooth the mind. In adversity it lightens the burden and every enjoyment receives an additional blessing from their good wishes. You may imagine then I am rendered doubly happy by your kind congratulations and that my success would not have yielded me half the satisfaction had not the friends, who are dearest to me, participated on the occasion. Your affection, will, I hope, to my latest hour keep up with the wishes of my heart. Should I forfeit it by any untoward accident I shall feel the loss with a sensibility

that will make me number it among the greatest misfortunes that could possibly befall me. I exist here but in the expectation of returning to you and to my friends; to be acceptable to them is, of course, the ultimate object of my pursuits, and affluence is no further desirable than as a means of rendering their situations easy and happy. Unconnected as I am and unconnected as I propose to remain through life (for I shall never marry), I have no other objects to engross my heart but my relations and friends. It is on their affection I build all the happiness I can hope for in my decline of life; and they, I think, will not disappoint me. While I write this a smile tells me I am proposing myself in an insinuating manner as an example to a young woman to influence her to decline the pleasures with which Hymen may court her to his altar, and to dedicate her youth and whole mind to a friendship such as a brother can feel for her. But believe me, my dear Friend I know too much of human nature to look for such a sacrifice. Heaven has wisely implanted in the human breast those passions, those desires, the influence of which every creature acknowledges at a certain age; and actions that show its influence, point out the obligations mankind is under to Providence for that portion of reason which corrects the ardours of the mind and renders us superior to the brutes. I esteem you too much, I prize your happiness at too high a rate to make it my request to you to reject the addresses of any worthy man; for any worthy man becomes my friend or my brother just as your approbation shall fix him, but there are specious characters which young and undiscerning minds are incapable of distinguishing. Grant Heaven you may not be deceived, but in pursuit of happiness, find happiness and not solicitude, care and anxiety the too frequent attendants on hasty determinations. In all our hopes of enjoyments in any degree independent of ourselves the greatest caution and most mature reflection are necessary. To wake to misery from the most enchanting scenes, heightens the unhappiness into which we may be deceived either by illusive images formed in our own minds as the arts of designing people leading us into a wrong train of thought. Love is of all passions the most pleasing; and, by being so, is the most dangerous; and though from what I have reason to hope from the discretion you are mistress of, my affection for you renders me anxious, and I could not avoid touching on what is the best and safest guard against the influence of an ill-placed attachment. Learn to distrust yourself on all occasions, where pleasure allures; it is the best defence and the strongest guard against the sensibility of a youthful mind and that susceptibility united to it. Our sister, Mary, who, I am confident, entertains for me the same warmth and sincerity of friendship I bear to her, has that experience and knowledge of mankind which may avail you much in

every important and interesting concern of your life. Uninfluenced herself by the false glare of the fopperies of the world, she is able, and, I am convinced, ready to assist you with her counsel. You say she has peculiarities; but let me ask you in return, is there a character that has not some; if there is not, let us be indulgent to our friends, let us look over any little failings they have and cultivate that attachment which can alone render families respectable; be her friend and, I think, you will find her devotedly yours. She has great sensibility and great good sense, the principal and two most amiable qualities to form a worthy friend and to render a friendship permanent. I am pleased to perceive by your letter that you appear happy and easy with Mr. and Mrs. Baillie's family; their politeness and attention to you lay me under a great obligation to them, which on any occasion I shall be glad to show my sense of, and the opportunity Mr. Baillie has now given to me will, I hope, enable me in some small degree to convince them that I would willingly make them every consideration in my power for the obligation they have conferred upon me by making your situation agreeable to you. To give you an invitation to visit India would be unnecessary, because you are, I hope, too well convinced that if your inclination prompted you to give me the pleasure of your company, that everything in my power should become subservient to your ease and happiness. Wherever I am, you may be always sure of finding an asylum such as the most sincere and cordial affection can give you, and such as may have its charms if a sociable and easy temper which I am happily blessed with, can give it any. You may be certain I will look into Mr. Baillie's affairs, and do him all the services you require; it is my duty and it is the first request you ever made to me. A few days ago I received a letter from Daniel, he was well at Bombay, and I expect his arrival in Bengal some time next month, and in a little time after with me at Dacca, as I have requested of him to leave Calcutta as soon as possible and give me the pleasure of embracing him.

NO. CLXXIII.

DACCA,

31 August, 1773.

TO MESSRS. WILLIAM BENSLEY AND JOSEPH PRICE.

[R. B. makes a claim on Mr. Killican for his share of Commission in transacting Mr. Rumbold's affairs].

No. CLXXIV.

DACCA,

Sept. 2, 1773.

TO MESSRS. WILLIAM BENSLEY AND JOSEPH PRICE.

[In connection with the subject of the last letter, Mr. Price has undertaken to remit a number of dollars by way of Bencoolen.]

Then follow letters:

No. clxxv.	Dacca.	3	Sept. 1773.	Joseph Cator to Thos. Tullah.	
				Salt business.	
" cixxvi.	"	"	"	do to Samuel Charters.	do.
" clxxvii.	"	7	"	R. B. to Messrs. William Bensley	
				and Joseph Price. No Interest.	

No. CLXXVIII.

DACCA,

9th September, 1773.

TO SAMUEL MIDDLETON, ESQ.

Dear Middleton,

I need not tell you I was much surprized at the purport of your letter of the 3rd. The enclosed which is copy of what I received from Goodwin gave me reason to suppose the subject Aldersey and I had controverted was passing off his mind and I replied to Goodwin he was very welcome to remain in the house,* but that I could not sell it as I held Belvedere which I had lent to Mrs. Thompson† by no other tenure than my right in the Garden House late Alexander's. That with respect to alterations I begged he would not make any, for I proposed additions, a plan of which was with Mr. Tiretta;‡ and if not inconvenient to him I would carry them into execution. To the same purport I wrote Price and Bensley (my attorneys) and begged they would send to Tiretta and ask him if he would execute the work upon the terms of his first proposal. You perceive how I am circumstanced, you perceive how Goodwin is circumstanced with Aldersey, and that it can never be Aldersey's intention to turn Goodwin out and repossess himself of the house after he has placed Goodwin in it. In short I cannot imagine that by the

* Presumably Kidderpur House.

† See Basteed, *Sketches from Old Calcutta*, Appendix "The Intrigues of a Nabob."

‡ Edward Tiretta.

mode proposed Aldersey's ridiculous displeasure will be appeased. It may, I think, give some satisfaction to the Governor, but as it was contended for merely on Aldersey's account and he is not to benefit by it, I conceive the Governor will be proportionately indifferent as Aldersey becomes less interested. I confess I could wish to retain the house for this reason that I have lent Belvedere to Mrs. Thompson, and therefore, was I deprived of that garden by Mr. Rumbold's taking it or any other person of weight and influence in the Council, I should have Mr. Alexander's, now my Garden house, to go into. I mention every circumstance as it really is for yours and the Governor's information. You may be assured as well as Mr. Hastings that I will conform to what you determine for me.

NO. CLXXIX.

DACCA.

10th Sept., 1773.

TO MESSRS. W. BENSLEY AND J. PRICE.

I am favoured by your letter of the 6th. It is not my wish to have any extra repairs to the old habitation in which Captain Sealy resides; what may be absolutely necessary to keep out the weather and patch up cracks is all that I would have done to it. You have obliged me much in dispatching Mr. Wilson with the fleet of salt belonging to Mr. Barton: my reason for not mentioning those concerns to you, was to save you the trouble which always attend upon them, and the salt for Barton was so far loaded and ready for dispatch that I did not imagine it would have required an application to you.

The quantity of salt designed for Mr. Peacock a part of which was lost in the late storm I proposed to give in charge of Mr. Rose a little fat Greek (not German) entertained for that purpose. The salt is to proceed as high as Carragolah at my risk, but should no boats be lost or any extra accidents attend the fleet or that part of it which does arrive Mr. Peacock takes it @ 30 per cent upon the invoice and interest upon the charges, for the charges are not at my risk, and he is liable to disburse them whether the salt arrives or is lost. I only advance the money for the charges on account of Mr. Peacock. I have a balance of salt due to me from Idglee for which the Company is responsible. Mr. Lushington talked of adjusting it when I left Calcutta. Will you be so good as to apply to Mr. Lushington on the subject? The quantity of salt I should receive is about 5000 maunds. I could wish it sold at Idglee, and a similar quantity bought for my engagement with Mr. Peacock and if possible dispatched with the fleet that goes under

charge of Mr. Rose. Any mode which Mr. Peacock may recommend for preventing deficiency of weight in the salt I request the favour of you to attend to, because I am not, and that gentleman is, particularly interested in the deficiency of weight whatever it may be, provided it arises not by any loss of boats.

For the despatch of the salt laying in Calcutta Kissen Churn Bysaac has requested me to interest Mr. Price to obtain him boats for the dispatch of about 3000 maunds. I flatter myself I have only occasion to mention the request to engage Mr. Price's endeavours.

I request the favour of you to advance Kissen Churn Bysaac seven thousand rupees (7000) and place it to my account; he will account with me for it hereafter.

No. CLXXX.

DACCA,

10th September, 1773.

TO MISS MARY BARWELL.

My dear Sister,

In my letter under date the 17th August I acknowledged the receipt of your letters nos. 1 and 2. Of the 9th February 1773 I have since received. My brother Daniel, I have the pleasure to inform you, is arrived safe at Calcutta. His journey to Dacca I have postponed to the winter months, as the marshy grounds and damp air I imagined to be very unfavorable to the constitution of a person accustomed to a dryer soil and healthier clime. I who have been so long in Bengal have been attacked with a slight intermitting fever since my leaving the Presidency which I can impute to no other cause than the greater humidity of the air of this place. At present I am very well and hope to continue so. Mr. Rochfort on his arrival addressed me with acknowledgements for obligations you had conferred upon him, and the notice you have been pleased to take of him in your letters would have insured him from me every kind office which my power could render, but it has been otherwise determined by Providence, an unhappy fate having removed him beyond the reach of my attentions and left his sister to bemoan the differences which have cost him his life. Miss Rochfort* on her arrival was introduced to my friend, Mr. Lushington, by letters she brought with her from England; and his humanity and kindness supply the place of her deceased brother, and render the distress which the loss of him would have involved her in as light as the circumstances attending it will admit. This however did not prevent my

* Perhaps Diana Rochfort who married William Coates on January 19, 1774, and Sir John D'Oyly, Bart, on March 16, 1779. See *Bengal Past & Present* Vol. IV, pp. 500 and 506.

shewing her those civilities and offering her such consolation as my distant situation and a due regard to delicacy would allow me to do. It is unnecessary for me to be more particular, as I imagine you will receive a letter from her with a circumstantial account of her situation and prospects in this country. I am fully sensible of the affection which influences you to recommend to me to pay my devotions at the shrine of Hymen, but whatever respect I may have for your advice I find the inclination wanting to enter into such important and serious engagements. Nor do I believe it will ever be my happiness to form such a connection as you wish. I am fully satisfied and easy in my present state and while I possess your love and esteem and can hope to be happy with my relations and friends I shall never be anxious in the search of a precarious and further blessing. These are my present sentiments which I do not imagine any allurements will ever influence me to alter. It is a bold assertion, but I think I know myself sufficiently to make it.

The demise of my much beloved Brother would have proved a much severer shock to my mind had he himself not prepared me for the news. In his last letter he most considerately and kindly tells me that he apprehends his fate was approaching; that sensible of my kindnesses he was loath to make any new disposition of his fortune, which as he owned to me, he would willingly bequeath to my sole disposal, but as the acquisition he did not imagine would influence me to give up my pursuits or repair to England an hour sooner, he had thoughts of adding a codicil to his will, and instead of £5,000 which he had proposed for our Brother James to leave him £20,000, a sum which would make his circumstances easy and influence him to remain in England and to superintend and take care of the interests of our growing family, but that, if happily his life was prolonged to the period of my return, such was his confidence in me that the will he left in my hands should continue without a title of it altered. The will above mentioned is in my possession. I therefore, conclude it is the only one he ever made and it is the only one I ever had from him. A full power of attorney, a probate of the will* and all the law papers necessary to constitute you alone the manager on my behalf will be sent to you as soon as they are prepared and properly executed; they would have gone by this conveyance, but my absence from Calcutta occasions a delay in those indispensable forms which render law deeds authentic. The Bill of Exchange and other property of my Brother's estate in England you will in consequence take charge of on my account, and what moneys James may have occasion for, you will advance him on his obligation to repay; an equal division of the estate's money in England I would

* Pencil note on margin: Will sent to Mary. Since my return no trace of this. Query: What has Mary done with it?

propose to take place between James and me, should he not come out again and to Bengal, because in such case he will want it, but should he come out to Bengal, and it will suit him equally, [he] wills to receive the full amount of my dear Brother Roger's legacy in India I had much rather pay it to him here, otherwise whatever balance may be due to James after he has received half the assets of the estate in England shall be remitted to him as opportunities offer, and should there be no opportunity of remitting, his money shall be lodged in the Company's cash at India interest. I hope he will be satisfied with this proposition, and not think I claim too great a share of the estate realised in England. The reasonableness that I as heir to Roger's fortune should profit by the assets in England as well as James himself is, I conceive, so very obvious that it must meet his approbation. Should you be able to obtain any moneys in England for Bills of Exchange upon me payable in Bengal, I would wish you to take it, and draw upon me for whatever sums you are able to get. I will take care your bills shall be properly honored and duly discharged. Fortune having blessed me with wealth even beyond my expectations I could have formed when I came to India, it will give me pleasure when I can make it in my respect conducive to the happiness of my friends. To yourself I make no offer, my purse is in a great measure put into your hands and confided to your discretion. I wish you to live as becomes my sister and you will use it accordingly. But Fanny who is just stepping into life, and whom I could wish to see settled in a manner agreeable to herself and as I would approve, claims from me a different attention. To settle her in life to my wishes and to the wishes of all her friends may require some addition to her present fortune. I therefore empower you by this letter in the fullest manner to present to her on her marriage with any worthy gentleman the sum of five thousand pounds to be settled on herself and children: but, should she die without issue, to revert to her nearest relation of the name of Barwell. I have not mentioned a syllable of this my intention in any of my letters to her, nor so much as given a hint that might lead her to surmise it. You will therefore lock it up in your own breast until the occasion offers to disclose it.

The remarks which touch Mr. Leycester and Mr. Beaumont are (I believe) just as to the former, who, I understand, would be willing to embark again for India, but the latter can have no views incompatible with my interests, and therefore will never counteract them. An alert friend I never looked for in Beaumont. His time of life, indolence of temper and love of easement strike the most superficial observer, but at the same time I know him to be a man of integrity, a man who would pay as much attention to my affairs as he would give to his own, nor has he in any respect disappointed my expectation. When interest sways the mind—and how few minds be there unbiassed by its influence

we must not expect the ties of friendship will lead to a sacrifice of the nature you seem to expect. Leicester with equal propriety might demand of me the like concession and conceive I acted an unfriendly part if I refused to promote his views at the expence of my own. If you will but consider how I am circumstanced, it must strike you that I had not the means of forming such connections as you point to and therefore necessitated to form the best my situation would permit. If I have been mistaken, I can only remark few characters have an advantage over those of the men I esteem my friends, I mean characters in India. These which have always been my sentiments shew the limited sense in which I have ever received the professions of men under no very particular obligations to myself, and of course that I am of the very same way of thinking as yourself with respect to the dependance to be placed in any interest foreign to that you can command. It is, however, necessary to possess the good opinion of every one: it may be of service in advancing a man's pursuits, and if he has not any yet his social feelings will be gratified thereby. As I flatter myself the bills of exchange in my attorney's hands will have been received by them before you get this letter. You will of course avail yourself of my order on them for £20,000: this with the half of Roger's estate in England,* I do suppose, will place in your hands a sum exceeding £30,000 exclusive of Daniel's fortune in England which I suppose he will draw for when he comes of age.

About 20 days past advices were received here of the arrival of the *Harcourt* at Madras. She brought a list of the Directors for 1773 which I have seen and am happy to perceive your wish and my wish, to introduce Mr. Hawkesworth into the Direction is answered. I hope however Sir George's party is not so entirely broken as people here seem to apprehend. Or if it is, I hope neither Lord Clive's nor Mr. Dupre, who has views on the Direction, will succeed. From the first I have nothing to expect; from the latter I must look for opposition, because he will naturally support his Madras friends and restore them if he possibly can to their stations on the Bengal Establishment. The same ship likewise brings advice of the appointment of Mr. Rumbold to the succession and Mr. McLeane to the office of Military Paymaster and Commissary General with a Brevet of Colonel and a seat at the Council Board. It gives me much pleasure when I reflect on the success which has attended this gentleman, he must be possessed of great abilities and great address to have accomplished so great a point. I shall give you in a separate paper a comment on the public papers I send. The report that I should differ with Mr. Hastings, I suppose, must have arisen from his own

* Pencil note on margin: Remarkable passage if R. B. knew the property.....could not write thus. M. B. availed herself before she got this letter.

letters: for in the temper of mind I was in, it was the furthest thing from my thoughts. I am sure I sought not the occasions. But if a Governor expects to make his Council cyphers, to profit by their labours and give them no share in the reputation they may justly claim in the public measures adopted, who but those he can controul by the tie of interest will he admit to his confidence? All others he will regard with a jealous eye, and hints and propositions salutary for the public (while they appear not to proceed from him) will be condemned, sometimes as too speculative, sometimes as premature and sometimes as dictating to the Board. What man of the least freedom of spirit can submit to so arbitrary a rule, or what man conscious of meriting well will condescend to drudge for the public service if it is not in any degree to result to his own credit? This monopoly of other men's talents exhibited to the publick eye by any other than Mr. Hastings might speak a conscious defectiveness in themselves; but this is not the case with Mr. Hastings: his abilities are very extensive and (was it not for this excess of jealousy) well adapted to the station he fills.

My appointment from the Court of Directors when first communicated to Mr. Hastings hurt him extremely. Some injurious measures proposed to disgust me into a resignation of the service had so recently taken place that he found it difficult to reconcile himself to my rising superior to them. However as the favor conferred by the Directors could not be denied to me, he in a few days after the receipt of the *Mercury's* packet confirmed it in a very gracious and becoming manner. And we are now again as good friends as if no alterations had happened between us. May we continue so is my sincere wish; and, as we move now in different spheres, I think there is a probability of our continuing friends, or more properly, speaking upon good terms, for it certainly is prostituting a name for the most sacred tie to say Mr. H. is my friend which he never was, and I verily believe, never will be. A duplicity of character once detected and known as his is by me, proves an insuperable bar to any cordial intimacy ever taking place. I beg you will make an apology for my not writing to Mr. Hawkesworth our kind friend by this conveyance. I have been pretty full on publick matters to you, which letter as he will have the perusal of, a repetition I doubt not will be excused.

I am etc.,

The several abstracts inclosed with my letter may possibly require some further explanation to point out those particulars which might otherwise pass unremarked by those who may be unacquainted with the publick transactions to which they relate. A degree of attention being necessary to mark their progress [, and as] that cannot be expected from every person to whom you may submit the perusal of them, I shall therefore go through the different lists as regularly as the nature of the several subjects they treat will admit of.

List A is continuation of the subject which drew the first letter I received from the Governor dated at Kistnagar wherein he disavows having made Mr. Hosea any promise of appointing him Resident to the Court of Sujah Dowlah. This letter with many others I transmitted to you by the ships of last year, and my answer to the Governor with respect to his intentions in favor of Mr. Hosea I believe sufficiently pointed out that I received the information from Mr. Hosea himself who solicited my vote and interest at the Board to support Mr. Hastings' nomination of him to the station of Resident at the Court of Suja ul Dowla and which, upon my concurrence being refused, was in consequence dropt. I mention the fact as it really occurred lest my reply to that letter of the Governor's should not imply it so fully as is necessary for your information. In the appendix of List A No. 12 I beg you will remark the letters written by Mr. Graham and contrast those with the proceedings of the Board No. 1. My letter to the Governor No. 6 his reply No. 7, my letter to Mr. Chaundler No. 8, and my proposed Minute No. 9 which I did not record, most fully set before your view how far jealousy and resentment will lead the mind, when it becomes secure of means to gratify those passions. That this is not a surmise is evident, for though the necessity and utility and of the measure which was afterwards adopted became obvious to every one, and was explicitly acknowledged by Mr. Hastings; yet sooner than I should have the means of acquiring fresh credit with the Company, he dared to contradict his private declared sentiments and put on the public records that he deemed an embassy to the Court of Suja ul Dowla at that time improper and premature. The votes of the majority sanctified this declaration, and yet they were the very same members of the Council who proposed in a letter dated August 1772 preceding, to send a Resident to the Court of Suja ul Dowla with the appointment of Chief at Patna. The appointment of a Resident to the Court of Suja ul Dowla being in this manner protracted, the subject lay dormant until my proposed minute touching the political interests of the Company in Suja Dowla's dominions induced the Governor to revive it. In the meantime the men who were under great obligations to me, Mr. Lawrell and Mr. Graham, influenced by a self partiality, fell in with the Governor's views, and, unable to resist the sense of private interest, most kindly superseded my just pretension. Their conduct was certainly wrong, but when we look round the world, it is palliated by ten thousand similar examples. Mr. Hastings' address on this occasion gave me a higher opinion of his abilities, and confirmed what had been hinted to me by some of his friends, however, I do not wish I had acted another part, or made that reproach which their conduct towards me drew upon themselves merited by me. The whole of the publick proceedings will shew how injuriously I was

treated on this occasion, and the temper of mind with which I have regarded such treatment. The Governor's minute No. 3 is a most disingenuous performance. Loath to do justice to my character, yet unable to impeach it, with the sophistry of a subtle reasoner he hints at a possibility of its being reproachable, by saying he sees no necessity for questioning the character of any individuals, and there would be the highest impropriety in giving me a plenary absolution and acquittance of all blame which may be imputed to me during the whole course of my service. Ingenious as this reasoning may be, yet the meanness of it struck me so forcibly that I past it over with the least comment, confining myself to the latter part of his minute, which tells me in express terms the exception he had to my nomination. This as it seemed a bold affirmation I apprehended might gain credit at home and a censure be past upon me by those who read it without reflecting how very absurd, inconsistent and regardless of my own interests the charge, if a true one, depicted my conduct that it is not true along series of letters fully shew that passed upon the subject, and this is confirmed by my confidential communication of my minute respecting the political interest of the Company in Corah and Eliabad* which I very plainly allude to in the close of my answer No. 4.

The list marked B contains what past on my proposition for reducing the rate of interest on Company's loans from 8 to 5 per cent. The weakness of the arguments opposed to it, joined with my wish not to give further displeasure, has influenced my silence, while every art and means have been used to give my proposition the air of a visionary scheme, forgetting that in the first stage the general sentiments of the Board unite to support it, and that it became premature only when I took it up, which was six months afterwards. The statement drawn of resources and disbursements before the Board when a new loan was made of 25 lacs (to which I intend no dissent because my previous sentiments on record fully mark my disapprobation of this measure) is in No 3. The balance there in favor of the Company, after every expence appears to have been allowed for in a very ample manner, is not less than CRs 1,73,934. Yet in stating this account, to render the balance as little in favor of the Company as possible, the tribute to the King including Needjiff Cawn is set down as an actual disbursement from the cash, whereas not a farthing of it has been paid these two years past, nor will be paid without the Company's express order for it. This is no less a sum than 26 lacs of sicca rupees or current 3,01,6000. Add to this the revenues of Corah and Eliabad which ought to have been received by the Company and would have been realiaed to them, had a person been deputed when it became necessary

* Allahabad.

to the Court of Suja-al-dowla, C.Rs 30 lacs more. The balances of the Burdwan revenue lately liquidated amounting to about six lacs—and the balance due from the Society of trade for salt duties about six lacs all these sums added together make the Company's real balance (supposing they expend no more than the statement expresses) as follows.

Balance per statement	...	...	C.Rs 1,72,934
King's tribute and Needjiff which is put down as an actual disbursement SRs 2,60,000 or...	...	...	C.Rs 30,16,000
The revenues of Corah and Eliabad which might have been received and was not	...	...	30,00,000
Omission of Burdwan balances independent of the present year's revenue and absolutely liquidated	...	...	6,00,000
Salt duties due from the old Committee of Trade and is forthcoming but omitted in the statement about	...	...	6,00,000
Thus instead of 172934 the total balance in favor of the Company should have been	...	...	73,88,934
Deduct the 30 lacs neglected to be received from Eliabad and Corah	...	...	30,00,000
		Real balance	43,88,934

Since this the provinces of Corah and Eliabad have been given up to the Vizier for the sum of 50 lacs, 20 paid down, and the other 30 within two years. Exclusive of this I understand the Vizier stands engaged to answer the Shah's or King's demands on the Company. Thus the balance of 43 will increase to 63. I note these circumstances merely to point out that the reduction of the interest on the Company's loans was a very easy matter, that there was not the least occasion to borrow 25 lacs if the statement of the Company's disbursements is just, and this alone is known to the Governor to whom only an abstract of disbursements in every Department and at every factory is sent and monthly. As the facts here explained are incontrovertible, and as plain as figures can make them, nothing more is necessary to support what I have all along urged, that the Company by proper management may very soon pay off all their debts in India, and annually realise £ 1,360,000 in England.

It will be possibly asked why I have not added to the ballance the sum of 16 lacs of sicca rupees or current rupees 18,56,000 which is put down as an actual disbursement and not disbursed under the article reserved for the "saving fund." My reason for not having added this to the balance is, it is being appropriated by the Company to discharge the balance due to the claimants for the Restitution, the Navy Donation, the debts due to the estate of Bullocky Das the banker,* the debt due to Juggut Seat and the donation of

* His connection with the Nancomar case is significant.

two lacs of rupees to Major Munro. Now as actual payments ought to be made on several accounts as fast as the saving fund accumulates, and the balance is at present against that fund, it will of course give no addition, or in any respect, raise the general balance of the statement. The only mistake, therefore, is in the manner of stating this article; for as, it is placed on the credit of the account it ought to have been wrote back to the debit and again brought on to the credit by account No. B.—That certain payments ordered by the Company from the saving fund for exceeding the fund itself the whole amount 16 lacs or current rupees 18,56,000 would be disbursed on those accounts before the year was concluded therefore is deducted from the real balance which they expected in the treasury at the end of April 1774. instead of making a saving which is appropriated for the payment of certain debts owing from the Company appear as it does on the face of the account an actual disbursement and not one rupee set aside for the discharge of those debts. Any man who has the least idea of accounts will I daresay be surprised to find an article of saving thus stated. To give a clearer idea of the statement I have accompanied it with a rectified one and marked the several articles improperly stated in the publick estimate of resources and disbursements. Those articles entirely omitted I have placed at the foot of my rectified estimate. I have said that the revenue of Corah and Eliabad may amount to about 30 lacs. This may be controverted because the Governor and Council estimate it much lower. I only urge it as matter of opinion grounded on such information as I could obtain and supported by authentic accounts said to have been given to Lord Clive and left with Mr. Verelst, and in Mr. Verelst's publication in answer to Mr. Bolts page 102 of the appendix is Mr. Verelst letter to the Court of Directors dated March 28th 1768. This expressly says the province of Korah and Allahabad yield the King of Hindostan the sum of Rs. 27 lacs or C. Rs. 31,32,000 per annum at a rack rent. The list of papers marked C contains a number of curious letters on a trivial subject rendered interesting by the extraordinary interposition that took place. Nothing of the subject appears upon the public records, and the letters are sent merely to convey an idea of the influence of a despot, who thinks, or pretends to think, that the mother and guardian of the Nabob treats him with a great degree of indignity by presuming to dispose of her own property* without asking his permission so to do. The anger expressed on this occasion, the Governor's threat of not visiting the Begum, and apprehension of her suffering from his resentment made me act the conciliating part I did. Otherwise I would no more have considered Mr. Aldersey or the Governor than their folly and absurdity merited. Much is urged in the Governor's letters of the ungenteel

* Presumably Kidderpur House.

treatment of Mr. Aldersey, and the Begum's great impoliteness in selling the house over his head, but when it is known that the house was never lent to Mr. Aldersey, that he never so much as paid the Nabob the compliment of requesting the loan of it, but upon Mr. Alexander's departure for Europe, took possession of it, without so much as asking a single question, little attention will be thought to have been due to him; and indeed when I first applied to the Nabob's Mother to purchase the garden house, she was entirely ignorant of its being inhabited by Mr. Aldersey. Nothing can speak stronger the insolence of station and the extreme ill breeding of the man. Yet like a woman in distress who flies to another for support, he hangs upon the Governor and urges him to an exertion of his power and influence to give him (Aldersey) his wishes. As all further particulars are contained in the letters, a perusal of them will give you a full knowledge of this subject.

No. CLXXXI.

TO FRANCIS PEACOCK, ESQ.

DACCA,

10th September, 1773.

Dear Sir,

Agreeably to what I promised you and the tenor of my engagement I made a purchase of some salt for your account part in Calcutta and part in Culnia near the Roymeergal District. The difficulty which has attended its disposal for want of the means of conveyance have been such that it is not yet loaded to proceed to Carragola or the places you mention, and I very much fear the waters will subside in so great a degree that it will not be practicable to transport it to Ballia, Nawabgunge or Haldeebarry. All the boats are paid for Carragola, but it will be the same to the people who have let them on freight whether they proceed to the one or the other places while the risk is not increased and the distance is equal: if the distance is greater and the boats will be longer detained a further freight in such case must be paid, and I will settle with the owner of the boats.

I shall be much obliged by your providing me with the following timbers (for a building I am erecting here at my own charge) as soon as possible, viz,—

		Depth	Width
28 beams	24 feet long	9 inches	7 inches
28 do.	20 do.	8 do.	6 do.
28 do.	16 do.	7 do.	5 do.
50 door frames	10 do.	5 do.	5 do.
50 do. (short pieces)	5 do.	3 do.	5 do.

With these beams and door and window frames send me what *burgars* you can prepare in a short time; likewise to *choupaul* timbers the largest and the best you can get. I could wish them all if possible to arrive with me by the end of October, but if you cannot send them so soon, send them as soon as you can. The Dacca river is open all seasons.

No. CLXXXII.

DACCA,

12th September, 1773.

TO JOHN GRAHAM, ESQ.

Dear Graham,

With your letter of the 7th I received one from Lushington with the affecting intelligence of Miss Rochfort's distress. The man must want feeling indeed who hears her story and can calmly say I am sorry for her misfortune. It is an accident of such a nature as shocks humanity, yet the force of custom is such that it might have become necessary for Petrie to expose his own person, but here resentment had no influence and the point of foolish honour alone was to be preserved, it would have redounded more to his credit and would more firmly have established the opinion he wished to inculcate, had he not endangered the life of Mr. Rochfort. With respect to his own risk, it would have made no difference and he had every plea that prudence, discretion and reason could urge in his behalf for declining when he had convinced the world through Mr. Rochfort and whatever gentlemen might have been present that such declining was not from the base motive to which the world might have imputed it if he had never exposed his life to vindicate his fame; but, as he had done that he hoped Mr. Rochfort and his friends would now be equally satisfied with the principle on which he would all along have avoided an *éclaircissement* fraught with the worst of consequences, for as he had no resentment to gratify he had nothing but the point of honour to urge him to so disagreeable an extreme. This, I think, should have been Petrie's line of conduct, any else appears to me unnecessary, absurd and inhuman. And Petrie I think becomes less excusable as Heaven has blessed him with a discerning mind, a mind to which any consequence must have been present, and which could not but have foreseen the terrible distress in which any fatal accident to Mr. Rochfort would involve an innocent and deserving young lady. Indeed, Graham, I am very far from acquitting Petrie, yet I am willing to make every allowance the peculiarity of the circumstances will admit or his unhappy situation requires. A consciousness of our own foibles, vices, and weaknesses should lead us to judge others with tenderness; all men fall into unjustifiable excesses; they may not be of the same nature

or equally criminal; yet they are sufficient to warn us that a reciprocal consideration should take place to preserve society. I am very anxious for the narrative you promised me of the unhappy dispute between Mr. Petrie and Mr. Rochfort.

No. clxxxiii.	Dacca,	13	Sept.	1773.	R. B. to Wm. Barton.	No interest.
" clxxxiv.	"	"	"	"	Do. to Wm. Bensley & J. Price.	"
" clxxxv.	"	"	"	"	J. C. to J. Price	"
" clxxxvi.	"	"	"	"	R. B. to Geo. Robertson at Dinagapore	"
" clxxxvii.	"	14	"	"	J. C. to J. Price	"
" clxxxviii.	"	16	"	"	J. C. to Thos. Tulloh	"
" cxix.	"	21	"	"	R. B. to Francis Peacock	"

No. CXC.

TO WILLIAM BARTON, ESQ.

DACCA,

22nd September, 1773.

I have received your two letters of the 19th September. The goods you undertake for are partly for myself, partly for others. The concern being a joint one and the interests mutual, a moderate profit is all I look for; and, as I am no judge of the articles that form your list, your better knowledge is all I have to depend upon. The additional investment you offer me I accept, fifty thousand Arcot rupees. *Factory**—went from hence yesterday laden on two boats and in charge of a havildar and 6 seapoys. With respect to the union of the lands that formed your Zillah to Dacca, the public letters have informed you. The office of Dewan etc. must in consequence be abolished with the charges of your appointment; the rest will be adjusted to your satisfaction. The Dacca budgerow is gone to Calcutta with Mr. Gruber, and in her room will proceed to you. My pinnace a very commodious and convenient boat sails well, but in all other respects very unwieldy.

No. CXCI.

TO HENRY GOODWIN, ESQ.

DACCA,

22nd September, 1773.

[No interest.]

* Word illegible.

No. CXCII.

TO JOHN GRAHAM, ESQ.

DACCA,

25th September 1773.

[Of no interest.]

No. CXCIII.

TO JOSEPH PRICE, ESQ.

DACCA,

26th September, 1773.

Dear Price,

I have read your scheme with as much attention as I could give it. The great and only objection is the security offered, defective in this one point—the disappointment which may arise from your goods not meeting with a ready sale and the low state of the foreign markets. To ward against such accidents you make this single affirmation “that you will send your brother to China as soon as the engagement is entered into by the Company and throw into his hands at least a fourth part of the amount you are to draw before you give the bills.” This offers to a public body nothing more than your own honour and person as a security, because the proposed property to lie in your brother’s hands at China to obviate any disappointment, cannot be ascertained to the Governor and Council until long after advances are issued to you, on your engagements. The same objection lays to what you propose touching the supply to Bamlay and Bencoolen. I therefore think you should attempt, if possible, to obviate the arguments to be urged on the necessity of guarding against the disappointment to be dreaded from low sales and bad markets which will not escape the Board’s attention unless the members are more indulgent to your scheme than I imagine they will be. Recollect they are already enabled by your misfortunes to remark and argue on your *fallibility* and which must strengthen any dissent, though the dissentient may not be able to express himself very intelligibly. In short I see no other rock, for whatever private wishes may be, public arguments must be offered to the public to vindicate a rejection of your offers.

You are mistaken in your observation of the investment you require. You say the opium and salt petre are the material articles, and the cloth and silk a bagatelle. Now the cloth and silk on a medium calculation you will find to be Rs. 3,20,000: the salt petre and opium only Rs. 2,20,000. All the rest of your paper is in my opinion unexceptionable, and whether it produces the effect or not will do you credit. I heartily wish you success and am etc.

No. cxciv.	Dacca, 25 Sept.	1773.	R. B. to Thos. Lane.	No interest.
" cxcv.	" 26 "	" "	Do. John Graham.	"
" cx cvi.	" 29 "	" "	J. C. to Richard Vidgen	"
" cx cvii.	" 29 "	" "	Do. Thos. Tulloh	"
" cx cviii.	" 4 Oct.	" "	R. B. to William Bensley and J. Price	"
" cix.	" 8 "	" "	} Various business letters.	
" cc.	" 8 "	" "		
" cci.	" 8 "	" "		
" ccii. & cciii.	" 9 "	" "	2 Bills in favour of J. Shakespear.	"
" cciv.	" 18 "	" "	J. C. to Laver Oliver	"
" ccv.	" 19 "	" "	Bills of Exchange.	"

No. CCVI.

DACCA.

TO HIS BROTHER.

The 20th October 1773.

Dear James,

Thanks to you for your very friendly letters of the 26th November 1772 and 11th February 1773. Time that relieves men under every misfortune has, I hope, happily softened the afflictions that a mind blessed with any degree of sensibility feels upon the loss of a friend. We, James, have lost a dear one. Such a one as merited our sincerest affection and who was swayed by those extensive considerations that lead to the benefit of a large connection. I shall remember him ever with a melancholy pleasure, and as he will doubtless be equally present to your mind it is unnecessary to instill or inculcate those sentiments by which our conduct through life must be regulated to yield satisfaction to this departed spirit. In the last letter I received from him he says, "My fortune which I owed to your kindness I have by my will (that I left with you) bequeathed to you on my demise, excepting £5,000 to our dear brother James. I then flattered myself that before my time came you might be near the time of your return to England, and I should with pleasure have confided to your care the interests of our growing family, but as I am convinced the possession of all my fortune would not influence you to leave your prospects in India and repair to Europe, it is my intention (should I leave this world, as I expect to do in a few months), to make an alteration of my will in favor of James, and instead of the £5,000 first mentioned to leave him twenty. My motive for this is that he may have something sufficiently

handsome to render his situation in England comfortable, and induce him to watch and superintend with the strictest attention the views, fortunes and various pursuits of our numerous growing family: in short, that he may not be necessitated to follow the sea, and that he may be induced to stay in England if his stays will be beneficial to our family." This was the purport of what our dear deceased brother wrote to me; and you will, I dare say, find a copy of the letter in his letter book. The manner in which I would propose to pay your legacy I have mentioned to our sister Mary. I had rather (far rather) pay the amount in India, but as that might not be acceptable to you, I will (it meeting your approbation) share in equal proportion the assets of the estate in England. The trifling legacies having been first discharged, and whatever balance is due to you, after you have received your half division of this estate in England, I will pay to your order here. A probate of poor Roger's will my admission of what is termed the codicil, and a power of attorney, all which papers, I hope, will be prepared in time for the dispatch of this ship (the *Latham*) are forwarded to my sister, who, agreeable to Roger's intention, is nominated by me to act in all affairs for the benefit of the whole. The idea I have of Roger's estate in England is viz.,

Carried home by himself about	...	7,000
His proportion of the paternal and maternal legacies about	...	9,000
Ellis's Bill endorsed Robinson and Crawford	...	2,968-13-3½
Chevalier's bill endorsed Middleton and Ellis	...	11,666-13-4

£30,634-6-7½

Now as poor Roger was not expensive I do suppose the interest of the sums have suffered to bear his expences, and that the original or first amount will be remaining for the proposed division. In your letter of the 11th February 1773 you say, "but I beg you will be so kind as to manage the legacy my poor brother left me as I would not wish to have any remitted home till I know whether I come to see you or not." It is my wish, James, to take all the money Roger may have in England, and I will write to my sister accordingly, leaving you, however, an option, as I fear I might distress you by acting literally as you bid me. I want to throw money into my sister's hands to strengthen those particular interests which must make way for our family pursuits in the East, for it seems to me that the major part of the Barwells will be for visiting India, and that in consequence we must be deeply engaged, if we are determined to push our brothers forward in life.

When you desire me to get security for Mr. Chevalier's Bills I am almost led to imagine the security bonds transmitted with them were either lost by my dear brother or mislaid, because in the first place the Bills of Chevalier are not protested agreeably to the form pointed out in the security bond

executed by Messrs. Middleton and Ellis, for that expressly stipulates the protest to be publicly notified at the Royal Exchange by being fixed up there for a prescribed number of days. In the next place you advise me to take some security, as if there was not any taken; whereas every precaution the nature of the transaction admits, you will find upon an attentive perusal of the security bond of Middleton and Ellis, has claimed my consideration. An attested protest with a copy of the bill is insufficient, I believe, to sue upon. I therefore beg in case the money is not paid, that you first go through the form of publishing the protest at the Royal Exchange of London, and then send me the original Bill with the protest upon them and an affirmation before the Lord Mayor of London of the notification of the protest at the Royal Exchange. It is wonderful to me that so extraordinary a degree of inattention appears in such a material transaction. The love of pleasure and the love of ease the foible of our family, my Brother, seem in this instance to have wholly engrossed the mind. Not to read a deed to secure the payments of £11,666-13-4 speaks the whole man to be so much engrossed by his amusement that he has not one hour to spare, even to the means by which he alone can secure those very amusements. You are wrong in your conjecture. That part of a bill being discharged, the remaining part cannot be recovered of the endorsed or the drawer the usual forms of protesting being gone through for non-acceptance and non-payment, you can recover any balance which may be due upon the bill from any of the parties. Do, therefore, return me the bills, if their amounts are not forthcoming to the full, and show Mr. Beaumont all I write to you on this subject, that he may not postpone returning the Bills which I must positively direct unless good and proper security can be obtained by you in England for the payment of the Bill by a specified time. Daniel is arrived hearty and well, and the ship *Harcourt* has brought intelligence of the election of Directors for 1773. I find poor Sullivan has been unlucky, and our friend Hawkesworth prosperous. As to the scheme of your China voyage, it is, James, an object beyond my power to effect, unless a very full latitude should be given by the Court of Directors, and in that case I might be able to answer your wishes, but without a latitude unless something very particular arose, and afford arguments that do not at present occur to me. I do not perceive how it is possible to bring about so great a change in the destination of the ships. Heaven having blest you with a competency of fortune and abilities and prudence to preserve it, suffer not the hope of increasing it by a small additional profit to induce you not to secure it by insurance. Rather give up the prospect of that small additional profit and preserve at least from accident what you possess.

I am, dear James,

P.S. Since the above the *Harcourt's* packet is arrived with your letter of the 29th March with *P.S.* of 3th April last. My sister Mary has my authority to give the assurances she had done to our family and to the last farthing of my fortune. James, you may depend on my answering her engagements. Therefore permit not any degree of uneasiness to take place. I thank God I have the means to give every person full satisfaction; but, in consequence of what you write me, my Brother, I must benefit myself by all the fortune our demised Brother Roger may have in England and pay you the amount of his legacy in India, as you yourself proposed in your letter of the 11th February, instead of leaving you the option I intended for your convenience before I had information of the call which might be made upon me; for the further satisfaction of you and my brothers, you will upon enquiry find that if the Bills I have sent are received with the moneys I expect forthcoming to Roger's estate that I shall have in England upwards of £70,000.

N.B. In Beaumont and Leycester's hands are all bills and monies immediately sent from myself. In my sister Mary's all the bills and assets of our dead Brother Roger's in England. I have ordered a payment from Beaumont and Leycester to my sister Mary of £20,000 which if made throws proportionally so much more into my sister's hands as it takes from Beaumont and Leycester's. Of course it will not reduce what I ought to have in England if the Bills are paid.

No. CCVII.

Dacca,

The 20th October, 1773.

TO MISS MARY BARWELL.*

My dear Sister,

I have written to you already by the *Mercury* packet. This is in consequence of what advices are arrived by the *Harcourt*. I find my brothers extremely alarmed on the failure of Sir George, and all looking up to me to remedy the accident which may materially affect their fortunes. Engaged by honor and every tie that renders an obligation binding, they might have been assured I would do no less. You may, therefore, confirm your former assurances to the family of my indemnifying any loss which may arise from your management of India stock account the minors or the stock placed in your hands or submitted to your management by William or James, or any of the family who have the controul of their own fortunes. All I desire in return is that no India Stock may be sold out at a loss, but that I may

* In margin: Alarm about Sir G. C. At this time out of claim from W. B.

answer for such stock by repaying the first purchase; for this reason that, as I want not an influence in any other stock and can do without the interest which is necessary to subsist a man in England, I can very well wait the rise of the stock to sell. By my letter to my brother James, a copy of which I enclose, you will perceive I have altered my intention of dividing the assets of my brother Roger's estate in England. It is likewise necessary I should for the present too postpone the intention I had formed with respect to my sister Fanny; for should there be any considerable loss my fortune, that is, the remains of it, must be fully ascertained before I can think of giving away £5,000. You will on this reason, I hope, approve of so sudden a contradiction of my directions, and consider that you are my first object, and the person I must necessarily cherish. Sentiment and affection equally conduce to make me anxious to render (it when the time may come) your decline in life as easy and happy as possible. My brothers blame you much, remarking your zeal has gone beyond your discretion. I am so far from thinking this censure just that I confide entirely on your judgment. It is not on accident I ever build an opinion; there was no discerning of what has happened or penetrating into the secret of a man's situation in life. With a prodigious fortune to sink to a degree of bankruptcy as Sir George has done no man could foresee. I felt for him, and, as he has obliged me, I would most willingly return the obligation by as kind a deference to his present circumstances as his nearest friends may step forth and show. By James' letter you will perceive what monies I expect in England, provided the drafts are answered which I have from Chevalier, Middleton and Ellis. I think they will be paid, but if they are not fully discharged, be careful in having the protest made in the form prescribed by the security bond, for in such case I shall lose nothing by the return of the Bills to Bengal, but shall gain, because Middleton and Ellis will be necessitated to pay the re-exchange, and the full interest of ten per cent. upon the time the money has been advanced. Messrs. Leycester and Beaumont have by their letter to my brother James, appear to be entirely ignorant of the security bond given by Messrs. Middleton and Ellis, or they certainly would have had the Bills protested agreeably to the form prescribed by the security bond. They likewise would not have urged as a reason for detaining the bills that I should lose by the present exchange thirty per cent, that being the difference between the remittances lately made and the exchange stipulated in my bill. I say they would not have urged this as a reason had they read the security bond I sent them with the Bills from Messrs. Middleton and Ellis, because the bond expressly says, the subscribers shall be obliged to make good the Bills in England but the form pointed out is necessary to enable me to recover from Middleton and Ellis. I never was so astonished in my life at any omission.

The risk it puts me to (including my brother Roger's Bill) is no less a sum than £45,000. I, therefore, strictly exhort you to attend to what I have written James, and take special care that the form of affixing the protest up in the Royal Exchange of London and a declaration that it has been so affixed before the Lord Mayor upon the oath of two witnesses is gone through before the Bills are returned to India; for, should it not have been observed, I can not recover from Middleton and Ellis upon the obligation of their bond, as I do not perform my part of the obligation which is to fix up the protest of their bill for a fixed number of days at the Royal Exchange and have a declaration made of its having been done by two creditable witnesses before the Lord Mayor of London. I apprehend very much that you have experienced many hours of uneasiness on the score of Sir George's failure, but I flatter myself that the good sense and strength of mind you possess has precluded that degree of agitation which weaker souls are affected by to the prejudice of their health. Adieu, I have nothing more material to inform you of. Believe me under all accidents and vicissitudes, my dear Sister, etc.

P. S. I have no letter from you by the *Harcourt*, if in private hands it accounts for my not getting them with those by the packet.

No. CCVIII.

DACCA,

The 20th October, 1773.

TO WILLIAM BARWELL, ESQ.

Dear Brother,

I have received your friendly letter of the 3rd March and one from James of the 5th April with a full relation of the particulars by which you are so much affected. The ties of gratitude which your kind attentions towards me rivet in the strongest manner, and the principles of honor, justice and affection to you—all is an obligation of such nature that I should approve myself extremely worthless and undeserving indeed of your love and favor, did I not engage to make up to you all in the fullest manner any losses which may have been incurred for my sake and for my service. Make yourself, therefore, fully easy, my Brother, on the score of your India stock and Sir George Colebrooke's failure. Such accidents shall never be permitted by me to affect your fortune or your interest. Thank God, my fortune is ample, and my mind too free from avarice not to answer your expectations. I have written my sentiments at large to my sister Mary; and if the bills etc. of my remittances to England are answered, she has ample powers from me to make you all perfectly easy. The only thing I hope and wish for is that no part of your India stock may have been sold out at a loss, as I shall very willingly take

such stock to myself, and can wait its rise to sell out; for while I am in India and engaged in the Company's service I would have my money in that fund which will give my friends an influence and entitle them to ask for me that countenance from which alone I am enabled to derive a support to my pretensions and secure myself from the superior weight of influence which men, by resigning the Company's Service and repairing to Europe, too often acquire to the prejudice of the Company's servants who are toiling abroad. I have said I hope sufficient to satisfy your mind. My Sister will inform you of what I have written to her and make good by my directions every assurance which her affection has influenced her to make to you and all my dearest friends. You will find this written from the station to which through the united kindness of you and my other friends I now enjoy. I thank you heartily and sincerely for the part you had in getting me the appointment, an appointment as agreeable to my wishes as any that offers in the Service, and I flatter myself will be made by me as advantageous and beneficial. As a small token of my love and esteem accept a piece or two of muslin which is the manufacture of this place, and which I shall take an opportunity of sending to England by one of the ships of the present season. I hope no accident from Custom House officers will attend my trifling present. A subsequent letter will inform of the ship in which it goes and the gentleman's name to whose charge I shall commit it. My respects and compliments I now beg leave to present to Mrs. Barwell, and am with unalterable attachment, dear William, your most affectionate brother, etc.

No. CCIX.

DACCA.

The 21st October, 1773.

TO JOHN HAWKESWORTH, ESQ.

Dear Sir,

Annexed is an introduction of a much esteemed friend of mine to the knowledge of my Sister. As such I presume to give him to your acquaintance and more especially as his extensive knowledge of Bengal affairs may render him a valuable acquisition to your circle of friends. I am, Dear Sir etc.

No. CCX.

DACCA.

The 21st October, 1773.

TO MISS MARY BARWELL.

My dear Sister,

If a long and intimate connection is a test of approved friendship Mr. William Lushington can be introduced to you by no juster title than that of my friend; with views towards India himself and in inclination to render me

the services in his power you may be mutually assisting to each other. But exclusive of any assistance I may hope to receive from his interest among his English friends I wish you to render him such as may be in your way.

I am, my dear sister etc.

No. CCXI.

Dacca,

The 5th November, 1773

TO MRS. MARY BARWELL.

My dear Sister,

I have now before me your letters of the 9th and 13th of April last. Previous to the receipt of them I had written to you the My confidence in your good sense and discretion rendered, you perceive, the account of your management perfectly unnecessary. It, however, was a satisfaction to learn from your pen the state of the large property for which I stand engaged, and it gave me pleasure to find it was so well circumstanced that I had not to replace the loss of many thousands, and that the greatest inconvenience would be the length of time which you suppose will intervene before the property can revert. You may be certain I will do whatever lays in my power to assist Atkinson in the service, but though a well-meaning man, his social powers are not the most pleasing. Timid to excess with a disposition rather captious, he has unfortunately given offence, and such offences have been reproved at one time by an actual drubbing and two or three times by threats of being beaten. Such accidents you must be sensible greatly affect the character of a man and very much discountenance their pursuits through life. It disables their friends from that exertion which is often requisite to advance them in the world, and the most unexceptionable character is not proof to the ridicule and contempt that attends it under these circumstances. Yet have I for your sake, and from a concern for Atkinson, constantly shewed him countenance, and a few months before I left Calcutta (his law business not bringing in a sufficiency) gave him a room in my house as well as my table, which had always been open to him, though he did not before very often frequent it. I am led to this explanation, because you seemed to hint in one of your letters Atkinson thought I behaved rather coolly towards him. I am not sensible I did so, and apprehend his own feelings of a conscious littleness of mind on the occasions I have noticed, made him entertain such an idea, for I am sure I never gave him just cause for the suspicion.

I had got thus far when your short letter of the 4th of April came to my hand, and the perusal of the memorial written by my dear Brother

interrupted me. The printed papers under the same cover I shall read over more at leisure. From so hasty a reading as I have given of my late Brother's production, I have not been able to form a particular judgment of its merits. I shall, therefore, decline giving any opinion upon it, until I am more fully master of his hints and the reasoning by which he supports them. Then my knowledge of the interests of this country and experience of the manner of the people will inform me in what degree they are speculative, in what degree practicable.

I enclose you copy of my letter to our friend Mr. Hawkesworth of this date that you may have it by you without the necessity of an application whenever you might want to see it.

I likewise enclose to you a copy of Leycester's letter to me of the 23rd February, my answer to it, which I have sent by his brother (Lushington), a passenger on the *Latham*, with my letter to Lushington upon the receipt of that from Leycester. Mr. Lushington, I am well satisfied, will give me every assistance where the interest of his family is not affected by it, and where it is you may depend on his openness for the information. So that you make him an useful friend without the apprehension of his thwarting my views in any respect. He carries from me a letter of introduction to you and our mutual friend. I send you three letters very strongly written by my young friend Mr. Stuart a man of a very worthy character. My acquaintance with him was accidental. His manners pleased me, and attention consequent on my part has, I find, given me a place in his esteem; for without my knowledge, without my entertaining the most distant idea of it, I find he had previous to my hinting an introduction of you to his family would be agreeable, written to his connections in terms of the warmest attachment to my interests. When he presented me with this enclosed for Lady Bute, Lady Mount Stuart and Lady Lowther he proposed another to the Attorney-General Mr. Wedderburn which I imagine I may likewise be enabled to enclose. Another Gentleman of the name of Lodge whose family did hold a large proprietary interest, and to whom I have rendered some small services, begged I would let him express his sense of them by giving to me letters to his brother which you will find under this cover. I shall now take my leave, first acquainting you that I dispatched for you to the care of Mr. Lushington a little box wrapped up in waxcloth containing pearls to the value of £500, which you will dispose of for whatever money they may bring. In the same box is likewise a diamond ring of a fine water but imperfect shape that I wish may be presented with my respects to our valuable friend, Mr. Hawkesworth. Impressed with a just sense of your kindness, I am, my dear Sister, etc.

No. CCXII.

DACCA,

The 3rd November, 1773.

TO JOHN HAWKESWORTH, ESQ.

Dear Sir,

I am much very much obliged by your letters of the 14th November 1772 and 2nd April 1773. To congratulate you or myself on the success of your endeavours to get into the Direction is really a moot point. With me the social and the interested feelings are so equally gratified that, while I think I am preferring the former, I begin to suspect myself of being actuated by the latter. This, however, I know that I am obliged, that I hope to be more obliged, that I have a mind not a little tenacious of favors and not less capable of gratitude. My dear Sister writes to me in the highest terms of your friendly perseverance. After the disappointments she had met with, severe and trying as those were, your approved friendship has alleviated her concern, and flatters the sanguine wishes which her partiality in my favour is hourly forming. What can I return for such unmerited kindness? I have nothing to offer you both but my gratitude, and that shall anxiously seek the means to evince it is always alive.

This instant arrived with me your letter of the 12th acknowledging the receipt of papers under cover to my sister by the *Nottingham*. The difficulty with which a reference to public papers is attended here, as well as at the India House, and the impracticability of making extracts under particular circumstances, such as the distant situation of the writer, or the records being from the office, oblige those members of the Council who are under a difficulty to write their public minutes with references to orders and resolutions from short notes taken by themselves. This though a sufficient guide for the judgment of men who have a knowledge of the matters touched on by their having been previously before them, is as you must justly observe unperspicuous and unintelligible in a degree to those who require that information. I was wrong; I should have been more accurate and demanded a copy from the office with the blanks filled up, but as in all the papers which are defective in the points you mention the subject is fully alluded to, I flatter myself they may be understood. It is too late to rectify them now. My future dispatches shall be more regular, and my public business will give me time to fulfil my promise. You will on a perusal of the enclosed perceive how very difficult it is to check the unbecoming expectations of individuals, who, by the weakness or indulgence of their superiors, are led to account that conduct unkind which cannot and does not conform to their particular views. The assurance of a fair and equitable adjustment is not

only slighted, but the ungenteel returns made to the repeated inclination shewn by me to consider Mr. Russell to the utmost of my power. The idea, however, of his relation's, Mr. Claud Russell's conduct toward me did, I suppose, make him reject even the thought of its being possible I could befriend him. How perverse is the human mind and how little shews its mean suspicions to the person who is superior to them! I saw the weakness and would willingly have amended it. I would not be provoked, although I was in a manner insulted, and I was forced to the last extremity, merely because I could not support my station without it. I have heard nothing from the Governor in reply to my letter of the 13th which gave cover to my public address to the Board, nor have I as yet heard from the Board. A rumour has been propagated within these few days of an intention to involve me by the general words of the order for recalling Supervisors in the Company's letter per *Harcourt*. I had in consequence addressed a letter to the Governor, but determined afterwards not to send it, unless the rumour was confirmed. I do not think the Council would withdraw from my station its most consequential charge and turn the words of the *Harcourt's* letters to counteract the obvious intention of the Directors in giving me the Dacca Chiefship. However, should they be so well disposed towards me, you shall have advice as soon as it becomes indubitable. The impropriety of Europeans being connected with the farmers of the Revenue will be further illustrated by the enclosed address from a lady, wife to the present French Chief of Dacca. Complaints having been made of the oppressions of her servant (who though no more than a security for the Farmer's revenue has assumed the rights and acted in the double capacity of principal and bondsman) the officers of the Courts of Justice commanded his appearance to answer to the charge. He appeals to the French Lady. She interferes with her household servant and carries off the complainants with the officers of Justice: the latter she releases, but those who complain of grievances from her servant, she keeps confined, writes me that she has done it merely to relieve her servant and hopes there is no impropriety in her assisting him, requesting almost in the same line that I will permit her to make the offending party the arbiter of the justness of the complaint against himself. Could Europeans be made properly amenable to the Dewanny in all matters which are connected with the collection of the revenues, their engaging in farming the lands I should suppose would be beneficial, not detrimental to the country, for this reason that they would be beyond the reach of those impositions the natives are subjected to, from the nature of their education and ideas and prejudices inculcated by a long despotism. It would, however, be preferable to have a more permanent mode than temporary leases adopted. The Company might obtain a larger advance immediately by an alteration of the system, and the future revenue, though smaller,

would become by it fixed and secure, viz., a *pergunnah* or province upon the present system yields to Government one lac per annum: purchasers would be found to take it at a *tushkeesh* or fixed rent of Rs. 90,000 per annum in perpetuity. For such a grant the purchasers would be glad to pay to Government an advance of one lac of rupees or ten years' purchase of the difference (the one tenth it was reduced), that is, from one lac to Rs. 90,000, and supposing there are not sufficient purchasers to render such a sale general, the partial adoption would nevertheless be beneficial. Men holding lands on such a footing would hold them as estates, which the more they are improved become the more valuable to themselves and their posterity; and though such grants would disable your Government from increasing the land tax at pleasure, yet exigencies would always be considered and the general safety of the whole combine to raise aids to Government. Besides the excise system of taxing the necessaries of life in a higher proportion would make the landholder pay his portion as from the produce of his estate (the articles cultivated on it) the tax would be gathered. The public revenue would by this means become known; every estate held by such tenure and liable to no other impositions would greatly improve, and the attention awakened by a flattering hope of gain and apprehension of loss would doubtless be a means of raising the country to a state equal to its capacity, and the public revenue would be secure, because every estate would be held under the penal reversion of it to Government if its revenue was not answered. These are my general ideas formed on the light of others, and my own experience of what should be the interest of Government in the land property of the country. And this would obviate at once all necessity for annual, triennial and quintennial settlements. However when such a system shall be attempted it will meet with great obstacles, because there be interests that must be affected by it. And yet there are many Englishmen who would be glad to hold of the Company upon such a footing as would give security to the estates they might purchase with the hope of improving them, and I must confess myself to be one of those Englishmen. The West India estates would be trifling to the improvements colonists might make in this part of the world. I wish this digression may not be too obscure that I may be understood. But to return to the obstructions which are opposed to the present administration of the Dewanny and its regulations. The French have long opposed every act of Government under various pretexts, and until Mr. Hastings filled the chair, their pretensions have scarcely been canvassed. Their claim as the public records will shew, is independence of the Dewanny, because it is held by the English. Not that they enjoy fewer privileges now than when they were under the Government of the Moors, but because they aim at more and would act in all affairs where the public or their own interests as

Frenchmen are concerned free from all kind of controul. A letter from me on this subject which relates to the revenue arising from the customs explains the intention of our Government and the equity of its expectations. Finding my address to the French Chief was dispatched to Chandernagore for the sentiments of their President and Council, I immediately forwarded my letter to the Board of Calcutta requesting any particular instructions they deemed necessary for my conduct in enforcing the general regulations. Their answer to which is no more than a general approbation. These slight hints well suffice to point out irregularities which require time, an established authority and a firmer administration to rectify. Nor are the collections the only object which has defects. The mercantile interests of the Company require equal attention and demand the aid of that commercial knowledge which very few of the servants possess and of which the Gentlemen of the Direction have by no means an adequate idea. Their maxims are drawn from observation of European systems and their orders given on principles, though just, that oftentimes assist not here, and of course cannot operate to effect those salutary ends they are proposed to produce. The whole of that class of people who are engaged to supply the manufactures ordered by the Company, in the first place, must not be considered in the light of those people who come with their goods to market, or the manufacturers in Europe who have no fixed price for their labor and who purchase up and work their own materials. In this country there is not a weaver who will begin to fabricate a single piece of cloth without first having an advance in money to the full amount of its materials. This by an accident becomes often lost to the merchant such as by death or by absenting of the weaver. The labour of the man is fixed by known acknowledged custom, for every species of manufacture has its price affixed by an invariable rule, and to this alone the manufacturer is entitled, but a race at first of useful men as a channel of intercourse between the merchant and manufacturer in process of time deviated from the original design of their institution, and instead of being content with a small commission as brokerage for influencing the merchants to make advances, they have proceeded to make those advances as from themselves to the weaver, and by this means have fixed so full an influence that the merchants must subscribe to the broker's terms if he hope to make a purchase of any manufactures, while the manufacturer himself receives no more than at a stipulated rate for his labour, and even that under different pretences is sometimes reduced. By this it is evident there never was nor never can be any freedom of sale to the fabricator, because the fabricator has no property in the article he fabricates, but is a mere servant at stated hire and therefore every interposition of private adventurers, where the Company has previously advanced money for their investment, must materially affect it. The desire of gain has too strong

an influence; and thus cloth the materials of which were purchased with the public money may fall to the share of an individual who bids a premium upon it. Nor can the strictest attention prevent these collusions while every man can go into a weaver's hut and pass back unquestioned with any articles of manufacture. This is the present situation of your investment and a sketch of the precarious manner in which it is provided points out of course the only two ways by which it can be rectified. The first and most advantageous to the public but most troublesome to its servants is by immediate direct intercourse with the weavers, for the present intermediate influence of *Delalls* and *Pycars* once removed, the advantages or profits intercepted by them would centre with the Public.* On this plan it will be necessary to take a number of manufacturers into the immediate service of the Company and to take care to give them constant employment, and as public servants preclude them all kind of connection and intercourse but with the Company, and any individual detected of attempting to reduce their integrity by obtaining a clandestine sale of goods in which the weavers have no right (the materials being bought from the advance made to them by Company) should be severely punished. To render the families of this useful class of people more respectable they should be distinguished by some particular marks of the public attention and enjoy a greater degree of security than falls to the lot of men who are so numerous, whose rulers are so few, and the form of government though well calculated for dispatch by a summary process or mode of judicial proceedings, is nevertheless a source of much oppression: for, where the option to do wrong rests in some degree in the breast of the rulers and where the temptation often times is very powerful, some deviations from the rule of right are to be expected, but if the conveniences of the present balances the difficulties and inconvenience is attendant on any other system, imperfect as it may be,—it claims a preference over them. I say as this is the case from the great multitude of the people. And a system that places them under too few protectors to have all their grievances minutely investigated and redressed. It would be sufficient distinction to separate the manufacturers in the service of the public from the body of the people to give the care of their interests to a particular number of individuals, local Residents, whose only or capital duty should be to protect and guard them from oppression and settle all complaints whether for criminal matters or matters of property between manufacturer and manufacturer, and between a manufacturer complained against any other individual. But at a complaint thus circumstanced an officer of the Provincial Court of Justice to which that individual is responsible should be present and sit

* Public is Barwell's word for the Company.

through the examination to the decision upon it (this in the latter instance only). Besides this security, the manufacturer with his family should have every indulgence as a cultivator of land that can be extended to him without detriment to the Company's revenue. The simplest way to this end is an entire rejection of all those numerous articles of collection brought into a rent roll, because collecting under those various denominations afford a variety of pretexts to vex and plague the men who cultivate with their own hands the lands they farm. Therefore I would accumulate all those numerous articles into one total and fix the exact sum each manufacturer should have to pay as a cultivator of any parcel of land, and that amount. Those to whose care the particular interests of the manufacturers were confided, should have in a charge to see paid to the farmers general of the provinces. Could a system of this nature be properly digested, arranged and executed it appears to me the most probable one to increase and raise the manufacturers of this country. But as the difficulties and obstacles attending it are obvious and discouraging, men on whom you would depend for success, I apprehend, might fail on their part. Supposing then this is merely speculative there is only one alternative left. You must forego the interest of merchants, not think of manufacturing your own goods, purchase at any rates the goods you can find in the country and be content with realising your land revenue through such a channel of remittance. I have many topics untouched which I wished to address you upon. I will just mention them as a clue to your gaining the proper lights from my friend Mr. Lushington. The first is the proceedings of the Board relative to a suit commenced by Mr. Lushington against Raja Kissen Chand the Nuddea Rajah the whole dissented to by me. The other is the inquiry into M (ahomed) R (jza) Cawn's conduct part of which falling to my charge, gave rise to the sentiments expressed in a letter from me to the Governor a copy of which is enclosed. Believe me with a sincere and firm attachment, Dear Sir, Your obliged humble servant and friend.

[To be continued.]

The Black Hole—the Question of Holwell's Veracity.

IT may be asserted with safety that every British school boy, almost as soon as he is able to understand stories at all, is told the story of the Black Hole of Calcutta and learns that on a stifling night in June 1756 one hundred and forty six men, the greater part of British birth, were shut up in a small room in Fort William; that when the prison door was opened in the morning only twenty three miserable wretches were able to totter out and that the remainder of that unfortunate band lay dead on the floor of the prison, the victims of a tyrant's cruelty.

He never thinks of doubting the truth of the story. Belief in it grows with his growth and strengthens with his strength so that if he chance to come to Bengal he is amazed to find highly educated Bengalis who disbelieve the story altogether. "But," he will reply to such a one, "it is in all the history books. You will find it in every elementary text-book written for schools as well as in the pages of the most authoritative writers on the history of Bengal." If the Indian objects that the story is not found in the pages of his historians our Englishman, naturally and not undeservedly, gives the objection short shrift. Abana and Pharphar are better than all the waters of Israel. Such negative evidence cannot stand for a moment against the positive statements of Macaulay and Mill.

One Englishman, at least, seems to have doubted the truth of the incident. An article in the *Calcutta Review*¹ contains the following remarkable words:—"John Zephaniah Holwell, the historian of the said catastrophe of the so-called 'Black Hole of Calcutta.'" There is nothing going before or after to explain the meaning of these words. Articles in the *Calcutta Review* were not signed in those days, but in the copy in the hands of the present writer some one has written in pencil the names of the authors of all the articles, and against this one appears the name of Dr. J. Grant, Apothecary General.

The present writer was led to a study of the incident by chance. Engaged in research on a different subject entirely it was his task to read the works of many of the contemporary writers on the affairs of Bengal in the

(1) No. LI, March 1836, *Warren Hastings in Slippers*, p. 69.

18th century as well as the official records of the time. Holwell came into intimate connection with his subject, and he formed a very different opinion on the character of that gentleman from the one given by Dr. Busteed in his *Echoes from Old Calcutta*. Various incidents in the official records also caused grave doubts to arise in his mind as to the truth of the accepted version of the incident of the Black Hole. But a question at once asserted itself. If there is no truth in the Black Hole story then what did take place on the night of the 20th June 1756 to cause the death of so many men? The question was unanswerable and the matter dismissed.

Recently, however, the writer read once more Holwell's *Narrative*, and the answer to the above question almost leaped from its pages—an answer as simple and “as true as truth’s simplicity”—and he is now prepared to prove that the Black Hole incident was a gigantic hoax and to advance what he believes to be the true version of the affair. Of his ability to perform the first part of his task he is calmly confident, but the second part he presents with all diffidence. The merit of the theory is its simplicity, the ease with which it removes every difficulty in which this incident is at present involved, and the fact that it explains how men living in Bengal at the time might have believed in the Black Hole story. It does far more. If it takes away it repays a hundred fold. It presents to the British nation a band of heroes not unworthy to rank with those who turned at bay in the retreat from Mons, with those who held the trenches at Ypres or those who stormed the blood-stained heights of Gallipoli. “Here are large promises,” the reader may exclaim. Let him read and judge whether they are not fulfilled.

Very significant, from the writer’s point of view, is the fact that the author of the *Seir Mutagherin*, a contemporary historian, does not mention the Black Hole incident, but all he asks the reader to do is to note the fact. To prove his case he will rely solely on the writings of Englishmen who were in Bengal at the time—either in the Black Hole itself or in the neighbourhood. In the forefront of these men stands Holwell whose *Narrative*—“than which nothing more pathetic is to be found in the annals of the British in India”—is the chief authority for the incident. But before dealing with the narrative he will deal with the man. He frankly confesses that he intends to prejudice the reader against the writer of the narrative, so the reader will be upon his guard. Or if the latter prefers to form an opinion on the words of the narrative itself without the obtrusion of any extraneous matter whatever, let him pass over section 2 and proceed to section 3. Afterwards he may return to section 2 to confirm or modify the opinion he may have formed.

(2) *Bengal in 1756-1757* by S. C. Hill (1905) Vol. I. Introduction p. xc.

John Zephaniah Holwell has received the eulogy of modern writers for his gallant defence of Calcutta in 1756 after the desertion of Governor Drake and his chief officers. He was the principal survivor of the Black Hole tragedy and wrote a narrative of his sufferings. When Clive left India in February 1760 Holwell succeeded him as Governor of Calcutta, but in August was superseded by Vansittart. His great achievement as Governor was to work up a case, in a most unscrupulous manner, against Nawab Mir Jafar. He prepared a memorial³ on the state of the affairs of the province for the new Governor who was on his way to Calcutta. In this memorial he laid at the door of Mir Jafar all the evils under which the country was suffering; he charged him with treacherous dealings with the Dutch in the previous year, although Major Caillaud pointed out to him that this was never clearly proved, and even if it had been proved the fault had been condoned by Clive; he charged him with corresponding with the Shahzada, although Warren Hastings declared that the document was a forgery⁴; he charged him with the murder of persons who were alive when Mir Jafar himself was dead;⁵ and he got £30,000 for himself when his scheme was successful.⁶ The dethronement of Mir Jafar, condemned by Clive,⁷ protested against by seven of the Company's servants in Bengal who asserted that if the President had consulted the whole Council the measure would have been rejected,⁸ approved by the Court of Directors in such hesitating terms that Warren Hastings did not venture to translate the despatch to the new Nawab,⁹ was carried out by Governor Vansittart in October, and Mir Kasim was installed in his place.

Holwell was a man of great ability which he used unscrupulously to secure his own ends. Clive condemns him in the strongest terms: "Mr. Holwell is a specious and sensible man, but from what I have heard and observed myself I cannot be persuaded he will ever make use of his abilities for the good of the Company."¹⁰ He trembled to think of the fatal consequences if he were succeeded by such a mercenary man. "Mr. * * * has talents, but I fear wants a heart, therefore unfit to preside where integrity

(3) The memorial may be found in Holwell's *India Tracts* and also in Vansittart's *Narrative* Vol. I pp. 46-57.

(4) The letters of Major Caillaud and Warren Hastings are given in *India Tracts*, but the writer has mislaid the exact reference.

(5) See *infra*.

(6) Malcolm's *Life of Clive* (1836) Vol. 2, p. 289. See *Bengal P. & P.* Vol. VIII pp. 212-219.

(7) Malcolm's *Life of Clive*, Vol. 2, p. 255.

(8) Holwell's *India Tracts* (1774) p. 107.

(9) Hastings to Vansittart, July 14, 1762. (Vansittart's *Narrative* Vol. 2, p. 69.)

(10) Clive to William Mahbot, 31 Jan. 1757, (Hill's *Bengal* in 1757-57 Vol. 2, p. 186)

as well as capacity are equally essential." ¹¹ It seems ungenerous to add that when Siraj-ud-daula besieged Calcutta Holwell would have run away with the others if he had been able. But the statement was made at the time. Ives mentions it without condemnation ¹² and Clive believed it. "I am well informed," he wrote, "there is no merit due to him for staying behind in the fort, nothing but the want of a boat prevented his escape and flight with the rest." ¹³

As a historian Holwell enjoys a reputation which is quite undeserved. To qualify himself to write on the history of India Holwell asserts that he "studiously perused all that has been written of the empire of Indostan, both as to its ancient as well as more modern state; as also the various accounts transmitted to us, by authors in almost all ages (from Arrian, down to the Abbé de Guyon) concerning the Hindoos, and the religious tenets of the Bramins." He proceeds "to pronounce them all very defective, fallacious, and unsatisfactory to an inquisitive searcher after truth." ¹⁴ Holwell may have been right, for all his reading did not save him from making the elementary blunder of declaring that Prince Nicosir, a pretender to the Empire in 1709, was a son of the great Akbar who died in 1605! ¹⁵ If Holwell is correct in his history of the Mughal Empire from the death of Aurangzeb to the reign of Muhammad Shah then Elphinstone's History of India needs revision for that period. If the *Sar Mutaghherin* approximates to history then Holwell's account of the Transactions in Bengal from 1717 to 1750 is romance.

Here the reader may object: "Granted (though we should require better proof than you have brought forward) that Holwell was an inaccurate historian, that does not prove that he was a dishonest man." The latter point will now be established by showing (1) that Holwell fabricated a speech and fathered it on the Nawab Aliyardi Khan; (2) that he brought false charges against the Nawab Mir Jafar; (3) that he fabricated a whole book and called it a translation from the ancient sacred writings of the Hindus.

(1) In a letter to the Court of Directors, dated Fulta, 30 November 1756, ¹⁶ Holwell is at pains to prove that the protection given by the

(11) Malcolm's *Life of Clive* Vol. 2, p. 137 and p. 139. *Amuricks* are placed for the name but it is quite clear that Holwell is the man.

(12) *A Voyage from England to India in the year 1754 etc.* (1773) p. 93. Ives was surgeon to Admiral Watson.

(13) In the letter quoted above. So Mr. William Lindsay who left the fort by permission on the 19th June. "It was much against his inclination being there, two gentlemen having carried away the budgerow he had waiting for him. I mention this as I understand he made a merit in staying when he found he could not get off." Letter to Mr. Robert Orme from Fulta July 1756. Hill's *Bengal in 1756-57*, Vol. 1, p. 163.

(14) Holwell's *Interesting Historical Events*, Part 1, p. 5.

(15) Holwell's *Interesting Historical Events*, Part 1, p. 37.

(16) Hill's *Bengal in 1756-57* Vol. 2, p. 1.

Company's servants to subjects of the Nawab was not the cause, as had been alleged, of Siraj-ud-daula's attack on Calcutta. He asserts that Allvardi Khan "had long meditated to destroy the forts and garrisons of the Europeans," and in support of this statement he quotes "verbatim, the last discourse and council which Mahabut Jung (Allvardi Khan) gave his grandson (Siraj-ud-daula) a few days before his death," which, he adds, "I had from very good authority at Murshidabad, after my releasement." Then follows the speech from which the following extract may be made:—"Keep in view the power the European nations have in the country. This fear I would also have freed you from if God had lengthened my days.—The work, my son, must now be yours.....Think not to weaken all three together. The power of the English is great; they have lately conquered Angria, and possessed themselves of his country; reduce them first; the others will give you little trouble, when you have reduced them. Suffer them not, my son, to have fortifications or soldiers: if you do, the country is not yours."¹⁷

This speech called forth some very plain language. Matthew Collet, second at Cassimbazar, contemptuously dismissed it with the words:—"As to Alliverde Cawn's last dying speech to his nephew, I look on it as a specious fable."¹⁸ Richard Becher, chief of the Company's factory at Dacca remarks:—"Mr. Holwell will excuse me if I do not admit Alliverde Cawn's speech as genuine till better proofs are brought to support it than any I have yet seen. Such advice if really given, it is reasonable to imagine had few or no witnesses, so that it appears very improbable Mr. Holwell in his distressed situation at Muradabad should have been able to unravel the mysteries of the Cabinet and explore a secret never yet known to any one but himself."¹⁹ William Watts, chief of the factory at Cassimbazar, observes:—"The last dying speech of Mahabut Jung or Alliverde Cawn to his grandson neither he, or I believe, any of the gentlemen of the factory, ever heard of; neither have I since from any of the country people; it seems an imitation of the speech of Lewis XIV. to his grandson, and appears as Mr. Collet aptly terms it only a specious fable."²⁰

Holwell replied to what (in his own words) was a charge of imposing on the Court of Directors a forgery that had no foundation but in his own invention. After quoting the words of Messrs. Collet, Becher and Watts he proceeds:—"That Mr. Becher should not believe the speech genuine I do not much wonder at, as he seems fully resolved that nothing shall drive him

(17) *Hill's Bengal* (1756-1757), Vol. 2, p. 166.

(18) Letter from Collet to Council, Fort William (Hill, Vol. 2, p. 129).

(19) Letter from Becher to Council, Fort William (Hill, Vol. 2, p. 162).

(20) Letter from Watts to Court of Directors, (Hill, Vol. 2, p. 336).

from his adopted principal cause of our misfortunes, the detention of the Nabob's subjects, in confutation of which I have said sufficient; but the reasons this gentleman gives for his believing the speech not genuine had been better omitted for his own sake. The speech might probably enough have been a secret whilst it was necessary it should be so; but when I obtained it that necessity had long vanished, and Mr. Becher might have observed I say I had it from good authority, after my releasement, which was more than three months after the period it was uttered, and was no longer to be deemed a mystery of the cabinet, but might be judiciously enough divulged and circulated as an apology for and in support of Surajud Dowla's proceedings against the English, &c. Mr. Becher's opinion, "that I was unable to explore a secret, never yet known to any one but myself," I would explain and reply to, could I possibly understand him. Shall only add, for Your Honours' satisfaction, and in vindication of my own veracity, that I was released the 16th of July, and continued at the Tanksall, and the Dutch and French factories, until the 19th at night; during which period I had frequent conferences with the principal Armenians, and some the immediate servants of the late and present Suba, from whence I had the speech literally as I have given it; and notwithstanding the ingenious ridicule it meets from Messieurs Watts and Collet to cover their deficiency in matters which ought to have been known to them, I will not despair of giving Your Honours yet more convincing proofs of its being genuine." The only proof that Holwell produces is a copy of a letter written by William Forth, surgeon at Cassimbazar, who relates that he was attending the Nawab fifteen days before his death when Siraj-ud-daula entered the room and charged the English with plotting to set up a rival to him in the succession. Alivardi Khan questioned Forth and at the end of his examination declared "he did not believe a word of the report he had heard."¹ How this helps Holwell it is difficult to see.

Holwell's reply is as feeble as it could possibly be. Why did he not produce names with the date and hour of the conferences? He dared not. Watts and Collet were stationed close to Murshidabad and could have bowled him out. The only other remark of Holwell's worthy of the slightest notice is his statement that the secret might have been circulated as an apology for the Nawab's proceedings against the English. Nothing could be farther from the truth. Manningham, in his evidence before the Committee of the House of Commons said that "it was impossible to give any rational account of the origin of the Troubles"; that he was in Murshidabad with

(1) Letter from Holwell to Court of Directors, Hill, Vol. 3, pp. 355, 356, 357.

Clive in July 1757 and "enquiry was then made with all possible attention, but without success, into the motives of Surajah Dowla's conduct from his principal officers, and likewise from the officers of his predecessor, from the Seats, and every other person from whom information was likely to be obtained."²² Scrafton says the same. "I have made it my study since our intercourse with the great men at court, to penetrate into the cause of this event, but could never obtain anything satisfactory.....Perhaps it is a vain research to trace the motives of a capricious tyrant."²³ Finally, on the main point we have the evidence of a relation²⁴ of Alivardi Khan's—the author of the *Seir Mutagheria*—who states:—"He (Alivardi Khan) used to compare the Europeans to a hive of bees, of whose honey you might reap the benefit, but that if you disturbed their hive they would sting you to death." On another occasion, when his General, Mustafa Khan, supported by his nephew, Sayyid Ahmad, represented the ease with which the Europeans might be deprived of their immense wealth, he exclaimed: "My child, Mustapha Khan is a soldier, and wishes us to be constantly in need of his service, but how come you to join in his request? What have the English done against me that I should use them ill? It is now difficult to extinguish fire on land; but should the sea be in flames, who can put them out? Never listen to such advice as his, for the result would probably be fatal."²⁵ Commenting on the inconsistency of these words with Holwell's speech Dr. Busted suggests that probably Alivardi Khan modified these views later on.²⁶ Undoubtedly he did, or Holwell is guilty of forgery. Let the reader judge.

(2) With respect to the second charge against Holwell the reader will probably be disposed to accept the judgment of Clive and his Council who in 1756 considered it their duty to acquaint the Court of Directors in an official despatch that the "horrible massacres" with which Holwell had charged Nawab Mir Jafar were "cruel aspersions on the character of that prince" and had not the least foundation in truth. The persons who, according to Holwell, had been put to death by Mir Jafar "are all now living, except two, who were put to death by Meeran, without the Nawab's consent or knowledge."²⁷

(3) Holwell asserts that the leisure hours of his thirty years' residence in India were spent in collecting materials relative to the history and religion of the inhabitants of the country. Many curious Hindu manuscripts came

(22) First Report, (Hill, Vol. 3, p. 384).

(23) Scrafton, *Reflections on the Government, &c., of Indostan* (1763) p. 55.

(24) Hill, Vol. 1 Introduction, p. xxviii foot note.

(25) All this is borrowed from Hill's *Bengal in 1756-57* Vol. 1, Introduction p. xxxi.

(26) *Bahar from Old Calcutta* (2nd edition) p. 5 footnote.

(27) *Lang's Selections from Unpublished Records of Government*, p. 128.

into his possession and among them "two very correct and valuable copies of the Gentoo Shastah" procured with great labour and at great expense. He spent eighteen months in translating the Sastra.²⁸ In one year more he would have completed the work but the catastrophe of 1756 intervened and when Calcutta was captured he lost manuscript and translation. By an unforeseen and extraordinary event "that possibly I may hereafter relate" (he never does so) he recovered some of his manuscripts.²⁹ Hence he was able to give to the world an account of what he calls the "Chartah Bhade of Bramah," the oldest and purest of the sacred writings of the Hindus. In Holwell's time only three or four families were capable of reading and expounding it from the Sanskrit character.³⁰ He obtained his information concerning it not from ordinary learned Brahmans who, in spite of their knowledge of the truth, pandered to the corrupt beliefs of the mob, but from those "whose purity of principle and manners and zeal for the primitive doctrines of Bramah's Shastah sets them above disguising the truth."³¹ Holwell gives an account of the doctrines contained in the "Chartah Bhade of Bramah"³² and a translation of the first book and a section of the second. This version of the most ancient sacred book of the Hindus will make Sanskrit scholars stare and gasp. But what condemns the whole thing as a colossal fraud is the fact that Holwell has retained some words of the original in his translation which he explains in footnotes, and from these words it appears that his manuscript of the "Chartah Bhade" which only a few Brahman families were capable of reading and expounding from the Sanskrit character, was written in a mixture of *Colloquial Bengali and Hindustani*³³—the latter apparently predominating. The fourth "sublime book" of the "Chartah Bhade" which "must lie in oblivion, until some one, blessed with opportunity, leisure, application, and genius, brings them to light" was according to Holwell, commonly called by Hindus "Bramah

(28) *Interesting Historical Events*, Part 1, p. 3.

(29) *Interesting Historical Events*, Part 1, p. 4.

(30) *Interesting Historical Events*, Part 2, p. 15.

(31) *Interesting Historical Events*, Part 2, p. 9 and p. 21.

(32) *Interesting Historical Events*, Part 2, pp. 9 to 21.

(33) Holwell starts his translation with the words "God is one" which according to a footnote are a translation of "ekhumusha" (ek, one humsha, always?) pure Hindustani (*Interesting Historical Events*, Part 2 p. 21). The other words of the Sanskrit (?) original given in the translation or in footnotes are:—Debtah, angels; logue, a people, multitude or congregation; debtah-logue, the angelic host (p. 33); hazar par hazar (Hindustani), thousands upon thousands (p. 22); mahah surgo, supreme heaven; underah (Hindustani), intense darkness (p. 44); doonah or doonah (Hindustani), the world; dunnoahondah, the worlds or the universe; boboon, regions or plants (p. 28) ghoi, the cow; ghoiat, cows; ghoiabarri, a cowhouse; mard (Hindustani) the common name of man, from marta, master or earth; hosh, water fluid; mustman (Hindustani) the air (p. 31) logue, eyes (p. 35); peroth, logue, purified people (p. 103); munoo, logue, people of contemplation, from mun or mna, thought, reflection (p. 104); medoo, discord, enmity; kytoo, confusion, tumult (p. 106); surje, the sun; shunder, the moon (p. 110). (The meanings and derivations are Holwell's).

Ka Insoff (insâf) Bhade³¹ or "Bramah's Book of Justice." Such was the barnacled fraud foisted by Holwell on a Europe totally ignorant of Sanskrit, and it was for this that Voltaire gratefully thanked him.³²

Three outrageous frauds have thus been brought home to Holwell, and we now proceed to reveal a fourth. Let us examine what he calls "a genuine Narrative of the deplorable deaths of the English gentlemen and others who were suffocated in the Black Hole in Fort William, at Calcutta."

3.

A reader of Holwell's narrative³³ cannot fail to be struck by the leading part—and a noble part it is—played by Holwell himself. He is the hero of his own narrative. He bestrides his narrow world like a Colossus, and the petty men, his companions in misfortune

Walk under his huge legs: and peep about
To find themselves dishonourable graves.

At the very outset of the narrative Holwell's nobility of character is brought conspicuously forward. Leech, the Company's smith, had made his escape when the Fort was captured by the enemy, but as soon as it was dark he returned and informed Holwell that he had a boat in readiness and Holwell might escape if he would follow him "through a passage few were acquainted with, and by which he (Leech) had then entered." The guards were not looking, he might easily have escaped, the temptation to do so was great but immediately resisted. "I thanked him," says Holwell "in the best terms I was able; but told him it was a step I could not prevail on myself to take, as I should thereby very ill repay the attachment the gentlemen and the garrison had shewn to me: and that I was resolved to share their fate, be it what it would; but pressed him to secure his own escape without loss of time; to which he gallantly replied, that "then he was resolved to share mine, and would not leave me."³⁴

The rest of the narrative is pitched in the same key. Throughout that night of horrors Holwell ever regardless of himself thinks only of his companions and how he may help them, comfort them and sustain their courage. Death he plainly perceived was their inevitable destiny, but death had no terrors for him, indeed he felt much more for his wretched companions

[34] Quoted in Burnard's *Sketches from Old Calcutta*, p. 38 (2nd edition).

[35] The Narrative may be read in Holwell's *India Tracts* or in Hill's *Bengal in 1756-1757* Vol. 2, p. 131. All quotations have been taken from the latter source.

[36] p. 135. Yet on the 3rd August 1756, six weeks after this incident, Holwell appears to have forgotten Leech. On that date he compiled his first list of victims, etc., which he declared "as correct as I at present can make them and are deficient in nothing but in the number of those of the militia and others who quitted the fort the 18th and 19th" (Hill Vol. I, p. 488). Leech's name is not given. It appears first in the list appended to Holwell's Narrative.

than himself.³⁷ Only once during that dreadful night did his courage fail him. "Some infernal spirit" he says, "brought to my remembrance my having a small clasp penknife in my pocket, with which I determined instantly to open my arteries and finish a system no longer to be borne. I had got it out, when heaven interposed and restored me to fresh spirits and resolution, with an abhorrence of the act of cowardice I was just going to commit."³⁸ Holwell's abnegation of self and regard for others were repaid in a manner that is very touching. His fellow prisoners show their regard for him throughout the night, and when the first rays of dawn entered the prison some of the survivors searched for him and brought him insensible to the window where a man is found willing to resign his place to him.³⁹ Truly we must admit that this fiery ordeal thoroughly consumed all the dross there may have been in Holwell's character leaving fine gold *or.....*

The second point that cannot fail to strike a reader of the narrative is the extraordinary nature of the sufferings endured by Holwell and not less than this, his extraordinary powers of endurance and instant recuperation.

Holwell entered the Black Hole at 8 P.M. "exhausted by continual fatigue and action."⁴⁰ From about nine to near eleven Holwell had to withstand such pressure in his window that his "legs were almost broke with the weight against them." By eleven o'clock he was "very near pressed to death", while three men who were with him in the window had actually been crushed to death. It is true two of these were wounded men, but the third "could not have been, for Holwell says he "had forced himself into the window."⁴¹ Not only did Holwell withstand a crush that killed three men beside him, but the effects on himself were quite temporary. He begged those around him "as the last instance of their regard" to remove the pressure and allow him to retire into the room to die in quiet. They gave way and he was able "without much difficulty" to reach the centre of the prison and from thence he proceeded to a platform at the back.⁴² After remaining ten minutes here he was seized with a pain in his breast and palpitation of the heart "both to the most exquisite degree." Fresh air would give relief, so he determined to push for the window opposite him. "By an effort of double the strength I ever before possessed," he states that he gained the third rank at the window and "with one hand seized a bar, and by that means gained the second, though I think there were at least six or seven ranks between me and the window."⁴³ The pain, palpitation and difficulty of breathing immediately ceased. In this new position Holwell declares "from half an hour past eleven

[37] p. 137.

[38] p. 143. [39] p. 144. [40] p. 136. [41] p. 139. [42] p. 142. [43] p. 141.

till nearly two in the morning, I sustained the weight of a heavy man, with his knees in my back and the pressure of his whole body on my head, a Dutch serjeant, who had taken his seat upon my left shoulder, and a topaz⁴⁴ bearing on my right; all which nothing could have enabled me long to support but the props and pressure equally sustaining me all around."⁴⁵ An hour and a half of this was more than even Holwell could stand, and about two o'clock he made his way once more to the platform where he lay down and "presently lost all sensation."⁴⁶ Holwell remained insensible till nearly six in the morning when, as has been related, he was found *under the dead*⁴⁷ and carried to a window. Nearly four hours of insensibility in an atmosphere which had caused the death of 123 men had the most temporary of effects on Holwell. "The fresh air at the window," he says, "soon brought me to life"⁴⁸ and not merely to life but restored him to his sight and senses and he gazed round the room and his soul was stricken with suffering at the dreadful destruction which met his view. However, Holwell did not escape scot-free. When he got out he found himself in a "high putrid fever"⁴⁹ and not being able to stand threw himself on the wet grass outside the verandah of the prison. He was then taken to the Nawab who charged him with being privy to the concealment of the Company's treasure and ordered him to discover it. Once more we admire Holwell's superiority to bodily infirmities. The high fever leaves all his faculties unimpaired and he vigorously repels the charge. "I urged everything I could to convince him there was no truth in the information; or that if any such thing had been done, it was without my knowledge. I reminded him of his repeated assurance to me the day before; but he resumed the subject of the treasure, and all I could say seemed to gain no credit with him."⁵⁰ After the interview Holwell with three companions was conveyed to the camp of Mir Madan, over three miles off. Here they were "loaded with fetters and stowed all four in a seapoy's tent, about four feet long, three wide, and about three high; so that we were half in, half out: all night it rained severely."⁵¹ Holwell must, therefore, have been drenched but, if so, it agreed with him and cured his fever. "I became," he says, "covered from head to foot with large painful boils, the first symptom of my recovery; for until these appeared my fever did not leave me."⁵² Still twenty four hours' high fever would leave an ordinary man extremely weak, but not so Holwell. "On the morning of the 22nd they *marched us to town* in our fetters under the scorching beams of an intense hot sun, and lodged us at the Dockhead in the open small veranda fronting the river."⁵³ Here for all we learn from the narrative

(44) A black Christian soldier, usually termed "subjects" of Portugal (Holwell).

(45) p. 142. (46) p. 144. (47) p. 144. (48) p. 144. (49) p. 145. (50) p. 145.

(51) p. 146. (52) p. 146. (53) p. 146.

Holwell was in a tolerable state of health and was quite ready on the 24th (the 23rd is a blank in the narrative) to embark for Murshidabad. The curious reader may pursue the story of Holwell's sufferings on the journey by boat to Murshidabad but probably enough has been related to cause him to exclaim that, Holwell was no mere mortal man, *or*.....

We now proceed to notice a few points in Holwell's narrative on which, if he were a witness in a court of law, he would certainly suffer cross-examination. The first four points are comparatively unimportant, but they will assume importance later, and the reader is requested to give them his attention. The fifth point, if the reasoning is sound, and the reader will judge of this, immediately characterises the whole narrative as a daring piece of unblushing impudence.

(1) Holwell states:—"The Suba and his troops were in possession of the Fort before six in the evening. I had in all three interviews with him: the last in Durbar before seven, when he repeated his assurances to me, on the word of a soldier, that no harm should come to us; and indeed I believe his orders were only general, that we should for that night be secured; and that what followed was the result of revenge and resentment in the breasts of the lower jemmasatdars, to whose custody we were delivered, for the number of their order killed during the siege."⁵⁴ Knowing how Indian subordinate officers are ready to reflect the smiles and frowns of their master is it credible that these men would dare to disobey the orders of the Nawab *given in Durbar* in this flagrant manner? How can this be reconciled with the fact that when Holwell requested that the prisoners might be separated into two parties one of these same subordinate officers went to inquire and returned with the reply "it could not be done but by the Suba's orders and that no one dared awake him"?⁵⁵

(2) This is Holwell's account of how the prisoners entered the Black Hole:—"We were no sooner all within the barracks, than the guard advanced to the inner arches and parapet wall; and, with their muskets presented, ordered us to go into the room at the southernmost end of the barracks, commonly called the Black Hole prison; whilst others from the court of guard, with clubs and drawn scymitars, pressed upon those of us next to them. This stroke was so sudden, so unexpected, and the throng and pressure so great upon us next the door of the Black Hole prison, there was no resisting it; but like one agitated wave impelling another, we were obliged to give way and enter; *The rest followed like a torrent, few amongst us, the soldiers excepted, having the least idea of the dimensions or nature of a place we had never seen; for if we had, we should at all*

(54) p. 134.

(55) p. 137.

events have rushed upon the guard, and been, as the lesser evil, by our own choice cut to pieces."⁵⁶ Yet under such circumstances as these, Holwell who was "amongst the first that entered" and who had never seen the room before, was able, as soon as he passed the door, to turn sharply to the right and secure possession of one of the windows. Not only did Holwell do this but two wounded men also.⁵⁷ Surely when Holwell thought of the matter afterwards he must have wondered how he found himself at the window instead of being flattened against the dead wall opposite the door and blessed his good fortune. But in his narrative he passes the matter by without notice.

(3) The writer has read somewhere the statement made by a Bengali gentleman⁵⁸ that it was mathematically impossible to get 146 men into that room. Let us examine this point. Holwell says the room was "a cube of about eighteen feet."⁵⁹ Mr. Secretary Cooke, one of the survivors, said it was about 18 feet long and 14 wide.⁶⁰ The late Dr. C. R. Wilson ascertained that the exact dimensions were 18 feet by 14 feet 10 inches.⁶¹ The last dimensions give somewhat less than two square feet of floor space to each man; and this seems to be quite enough if the men were carefully packed. But what a job the guards must have had to get the last of the prisoners in the room; And when they were all inside, the door had to be shut *and the door opened inward!*⁶² What shouting and cursing on the part of the guards there must have been to get free space to close that door! What expostulations on the part of those roughly pushed about! How Holwell must have been squeezed in his window! Yet this is passed by unnoticed by Holwell. The men who, according to Holwell, would have rushed upon the guard and been as the lesser evil, cut to pieces, *when they had the chance of doing so*, preferred tamely to allow that door to be closed without an attempt to prevent it, without even so much as a protest.

(4) Consider this internment from another point of view. The Nawab's officers had first to decide on the prison. For this purpose they examined "with lighted torches" (please note this fact for future reference) "all the apartments under the easterly curtain"⁶³ of the Fort. They decided upon the room. Then the officers went to the parade where "four or five hundred gun-men" were drawn up.⁶⁴ Next Holwell "observed part of the guard

(56) p. 136.

(57) p. 136.

(58) I have since verified this statement. It was made by Babu Bhola Nath Chander in the *Cutteda University Magazine*. Quoted by Babu Akhoy Kumar Maitra in his book (in Bengali) on *Siraj-ud-daula*.

(59) p. 136.

(60) First Report (Hill, Vol. 3, p. 302).

(61) Hill's *Bengal in 1756-57*, Vol. I Introduction p. xx. footnote.

(62) p. 136.

(63) p. 136.

(64) p. 134.

drawn up on the parade advance to us with the officers who had been viewing the rooms."⁶⁵ Holwell and his companions were sitting quietly "under the arched veranda or piazza, to the west of the Black-Hole prison, and the barracks to the left of the court of guard."⁶⁶ The officers ordered them "all to rise and go into the barracks and when they were all in the barracks and were congratulating themselves on "the prospect of passing a comfortable night" there they were hustled into the Black Hole as quoted above. And all this took exactly—*half an hour*. According to Holwell the officers began to examine the apartments "about half an hour past seven."⁶⁷ When Holwell was in the window he says "it was now about eight o'clock."⁶⁸ Mr. Secretary Cooke allows less time. He says: "A little before eight we were all of us directed to withdraw and remain in a place contiguous to the Black Hole. ... While we were wondering what this should mean and laughing at the oddity of it, a party of fellows came and ordered us to walk into the place before mentioned called the Black Hole..... Into this hole we were forcibly crammed about eight o'clock in the evening and the door immediately locked upon us."⁶⁹ Who will dare to say after this smart performance that Indians cannot hustle?

(5) There are other incidents upon which some light would be desirable; for example, how water was passed *in hats* through the bars of a window which, according to Holwell, was blocked up by four men sitting in it, but let us pass to something fundamental. Holwell states that the Black Hole was "shut up to the eastward and southward (the only quarters from whence air could reach us) by dead walls, and by a wall and door to the north, only open to the westward by two windows, strongly barred with iron".⁷⁰ Remember that these were windows of a recognised prison. Remember further that the windows opened not into the outer air but into a low verandah. Lastly remember that it was night and it follows at once that the room was as dark as Erebus. But the room might have been lighted from the verandah. Undoubtedly it might. Then let the reader place guards to his taste in the verandah and give each guard a torch. (He will remember that the officers examined the rooms with torches and this is the only kind of light mentioned in the narrative). Should we not expect from Holwell a description of the weird effect of the light falling on that mass of men and of the dark shadows in the remoter parts of the room? But we have not assumed all the conditions. Block up the windows, as described by Holwell, with men and others standing over them and how much light could possibly have entered the room? Now turn to the narrative and the reader will see that

(65) p. 133.

(66) p. 134.

(67) p. 135.

(68) p. 136.

(69) First Report (Hill, Vol. 3, p. 302.)

(70) p. 136.

the room was as bright as noonday and Holwell could see and describe everything that went on in every corner of it. As soon as he was settled in his window he remarks: "What must ensue appeared to me in lively and dreadful colours the instant I cast my eyes round and saw the size and situation of the room."⁷¹ Immediately after this "observing every one giving way to the violence of their passions"⁷² he made them a speech. He tells us that every man stripped except himself, Mr. Court and the two wounded gentlemen.⁷³ Every hat was put in motion to produce a circulation of air and every man sat down on his hama. "When the whole body sat down, they were so closely wedged together that they were obliged to use many efforts before they could put themselves in motion to get up again."⁷⁴ When Holwell retired from the first window in the manner related above he was able to pause in the centre of the prison and calculate the number of the dead which he believed amounted to one third.⁷⁵ He then "travelled over the dead" to the platform at the very back of the prison and "repaired to the further end of it, just opposite the other window" and seated himself "between Mr. Dumbleton and Captain Stevenson, the former just then expiring." Here Mr. Edward Eyre came "staggering over the dead" to him and "with his usual coolness and good-nature" asked him how he did but fell down and expired before Holwell had time to reply.⁷⁶ Is it necessary to go on? One word more. Holwell, seated in his window with his back to any light there may have been, was able to see everything that went on in the room, but he states that when the guards wanted to see they held up lights to the bars.⁷⁷ This is the only reference that Holwell makes to a light during the time he was in the Black Hole.

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The writer imagines that by this time the reader is disposed to reject the Black Hole incident as we know it, and he will now present what he conjectures really happened on the night of the 20th June 1756. Astounding as it may appear the only authority he will appeal to will be Holwell's Narrative, for he believes that in a great measure it is a true narrative and that the very difficulties which he brought forward in the last section to overthrow the narrative are only difficulties because they are *true facts* placed in a false environment. This then is what he believes happened.

The Nawab entered the Fort before six in the evening and Holwell had

(71) p. 136.

(72) p. 137.

(74) p. 138.

(75) p. 140.

(73) p. 136.

(76) p. 140.

(77) p. 139.

three interviews, with him as he states. It was not Holwell who desired the three interviews or he would have said so and the reason why he wished to see the Nawab so many times. It was the Nawab who wished to see Holwell and the reason is clear. The Nawab was anxious to secure the Company's treasure of which he had heard exaggerated accounts. He believed that this had been hidden, that Holwell knew the hiding place and could be forced to disclose it. Three attempts to obtain the information failed and then the Nawab desisted with the intention of trying again in the morning as we know he did. Meanwhile he gave orders that Holwell and *all the Company's Servants in his hands and nobody else* were to be secured for the night. These surviving servants of the Company were Holwell, Court, Cooke, Walcot, Lushington, Burdett the Rev. Gervas Bellamy and probably the two wounded men, Coales and Scott. Of these Walcot and Scott belonged to the military. These men, then, were placed in the Black Hole prison precisely in the manner related by Holwell in his narrative and there they remained in semi-darkness throughout the night, though Holwell made an attempt to get them removed to a more comfortable apartment. The two wounded men, if they were there, ⁷⁸ died that night, but they died of their wounds and lack of medical aid. It is absolutely certain that the Rev. Mr. Bellamy died in the Black Hole. He was ill at the time and succumbed to his illness in the prison. ⁷⁹ The rest suffered much as Holwell says they suffered. They were bathed in perspiration. They fanned themselves with their hats. They suffered greatly from thirst and water was passed through the bars to them as stated by Holwell. Finally at about 2 a. m. Holwell managed to fall asleep and was roused in the morning by one of his companions and told that the guard had come to take him to the Nawab who again interrogated him on the subject of the treasure. That, approximately, is the secret of the Black Hole of Calcutta. To that genuine experience add the idea that there were 146 men present, throw in a small quantity of what a great man called "corroborative detail tending to give verisimilitude to an otherwise bald and unconvincing narrative," and you have the whole secret of the concoction of Holwell's story.

Observe how all the difficulties advanced in the preceding section vanish. Reduce Holwell's sufferings to the discomforts arising from passing

(78) It is probably safe to assume that they were there. In that case another statement of Holwell's falls at once into the category of "true facts placed in a false environment." Holwell states that at about eleven o'clock one third of the prisoners had died. On our supposition this was literally true. Three had died out of nine.

(79) For his death in the Black Hole we have the authority of the Bengal Council. In their letter to the Court of Directors, dated the 31 January 1757 they state "Our chaplain having both deposed, Mr. Gervas Bellamy in the Black Hole....we have appointed &c." (Hill, Vol. 2 p. 100). For his illness we have the authority of the list given in Hill, (Vol. 3 p. 415) and quoted in the following pages of this paper. If as he was the *padre jahid* was too important a man to be passed over when the order had been given to seize all the Company's servants.

the night in a small room at the hottest time of the year and he dwindles to human proportions. The guards were strictly carrying out orders when they shut up Holwell in the Black Hole prison, and hence there was no inconsistency when one of them refused to remove him to another room without orders from the Nawab. Guards with torches escorted the prisoners into the Black Hole and Holwell had ample leisure to observe the nature of the room and take possession of the window. There was not the slightest difficulty in closing the door although it opened inward. The prisoners could easily have been shut up in the few minutes allowed by Mr. Secretary Cooke for the performance. It was an easy matter to hand water through the bars of the window and this was not blocked up with human bodies, so that the guards were not insane when they held up lights to the bars in order that they might look into the room.

Of far greater importance than this is the fact that various stumbling-blocks besetting the path of those who study the history of this period also vanish in the light of this interpretation of the Black Hole incident. In the minutes of a meeting of the Secret Committee of the Bengal Council held on board the *Phoenix* schooner at Fulta on August 22nd 1756 we find these words:—"Major Killpatrick on the 15th instant wrote a complimentary letter to the Nabob Suraged Dowla complaining a little of the hard usage of the English Honourable Company, assuring him of his good intentions notwithstanding what had happened and begging in the meantime, till things were cleared up, that he would treat him at least as a friend and give orders that our people may be supplied with provisions in a full and friendly manner."⁸⁰ We are amazed that Englishmen could write in this strain to a man responsible for the tragedy of the Black Hole and then without a blush enter it in the record of their proceedings. Sir William Hunter's explanation is that the terrible sufferings they had endured in the fever-stricken delta caused them to descend to these depths.⁸¹ But the explanation does not hold good as far as Major Killpatrick is concerned. He had been sent from Madras with a reinforcement of 200 men and arrived at Fulta a fortnight before the letter was despatched.⁸² British officers do not grovel at the feet of the murderers of their countrymen.

Again we were taught at school to look upon Clive not only as the vindicator of British might, but also as the avenger of blood and then we read in the records that the Madras Council, who fitted out the expedition,

[80] Long's *Selections from Unpublished Records of Government*, p. 75.

[81] Sir W. W. Hunter, *The Thackerays in India and Some Calcutta Graves* (1897) p. 26.

[82] He arrived on 31st July. Letter from Council at Fulta to Council, Fort Saint George, dated 18th August, 1756. [Hill, Vol. 1, p. 1975.]

in the true spirit of Christian charity, were prepared to forgive the Nawab all the injuries he had done to them, including the massacre of their countrymen, provided he restored Calcutta and their other settlements and made ample reparation for the pecuniary loss they had sustained. "Should the Nabob," the Council wrote, "on the news of the arrival of these forces, make offers tending to the acquiring to the Company the before-mentioned advantages, rather than risque the success of a war, we think that sentiments of revenging injuries, although they were never more just, should give place to the necessity of sparing as far as possible the many bad consequences of war, besides the expence of the Company's treasures" ⁸³ and directed Clive to consult the Council at Fort William on the nature of the treaty to be made with the Nawab.

Further when we read the terms of the treaty made with Siraj-ud-daula on the 9th February, 1757, ⁸⁴ and the terms of the treaty made with Mir Jafar ⁸⁵ a few months later we are struck with the fact that there is not a word about compensation to the widows and children ⁸⁶ of the men said to have been put to death in the Black Hole, nor a demand for justice on the murderers. ⁸⁷

Lastly the records reveal the astonishing fact that *no official account* of the Black Hole tragedy was ever sent home by the Bengal Council to the Court of Directors. After narrating events up to the 18th June, 1756, the letter from the Council at Fulta to the Court of Directors, proceeds as follows:—"The next morning they commenced a brisk fire upon the fort which they continued the whole day and great part of Sunday the 20th; and having gained possession of the several houses near the factory and the Church, they destroyed a great many of our officers and private men, who being harassed out with continual duty and the enemy overpowering us with their numbers, the walls were scaled on the evening of the 20th, and the fort surrendered upon promise of their civil treatment of the prisoners. We have now given your Honours a summary relation of the Nabob's proceedings at Cassimbazar, his march against Calcutta, the attack and capture of that place." ⁸⁸ The Council promised to send further particulars of the

(83) Letter from Select Committee, Fort Saint George to Select Committee, Fort William, 13 October, 1756 (Hill, Vol. 1 p. 12239).

(84) Hill, Vol. 2 p. 215.

(85) Walsh's *Murshidabad*, p. 150.

(86) Of the relatives of victims of the Black Hole we find mention of Mrs. Buchanan and one child, Mrs. Dumbleton (two children), Mrs. Coates (one child), Mrs. Clayton, Mrs. Bellamy, Mrs. Hunt, Mrs. Smith, Mrs. Porter, Miss Bellamy and Miss Carey. (Hill Vol. 3 p. 76)

(87) Scrafton writing from Murshidabad to Walsh suggested that one of the terms of the treaty with Mir Jafar should be—"the guilty in the affair of the Black Hole to be given up to us." Hill, Vol. 2 p. 350. Why was this not done?

(88) Letter from Council at Fulta to Court of Directors, dated 17 September 1756. Hill, Vol. 1, p. 217.

siege, but in their next letter they refer to this promise and proceed "upon second consideration we find it impracticable to form a narrative that will be assented to by all the members of the Board who were concerned in these transactions. We must therefore beg leave to refer your Honours to the several addresses those gentlemen have separately made you through the channel of this Board. They are transmitted in this packet and to your candour we submit our conduct, without any further comment."⁸⁹ Now it is quite easy to trace these letters. They were written by Drake, Watts, Becher, Collet and Holwell.⁹⁰ They are full of charges, countercharges and recriminations on such subjects as the cause of the Nawab's attack on Calcutta, the defence of Cassimbazar and the mistakes made in the defence of Calcutta. The only one who refers to the Black Hole incident is Holwell and he casually mentions his sufferings there. It is difficult to understand how the Black Hole incident could have been a subject of controversy if it really happened and still more difficult to understand why the Council mentioned, in their former letter, that the fort surrendered upon promise of civil treatment of the prisoners and omitted to state immediately after that 23 of the Company's servants alone had lost their lives in consequence of that promise being broken, if it had been broken.

The lists of victims and survivors also are unofficial and seem to have been compiled by Holwell.⁹¹

5.

The reference to the victims of the Black Hole tragedy at the end of the last section must have caused the reader to ask, "Then how did those men die?" The labours of Mr. S. C. Hill, late officer in charge of the records of the Government of India, who has collected together and printed in his three volumes entitled "Bengal in 1756-1757" probably every memorial of the time relating to the Black Hole that is to be found in the archives of London, Calcutta, Paris and The Hague, enables this question to be answered. From those volumes we can learn what happened from 10 o'clock in the morning of the 19th June, when Governor Drake and his companions deserted the Fort, to the evening of the 20th when the Fort was captured. Captain Grant, Adjutant-General, who deserted with the Governor writes:—"The place was taken the next day the 20th afternoon, about 30 hours after the

(89) Letter from Council, Fort William, to the Court of Directors, dated, 31 January, 1757 (Hill Vol. 2, p. 187).

(90) Drake's Letter (Hill Vol. 2, p. 134); Watt's Letter (Hill Vol. 2, p. 131); Becher's Letter (Hill Vol. 2, p. 152); Collet's Letter (Hill Vol. 2, p. 128); Holwell's Letter (Hill Vol. 2, p. 1).

(91) One is appended to his letter to Council, Fort Saint George, dated Hugli, 7 August, 1756 (Hill 1 185) and the other to his narrative (Hill 3 p. 153).

Governor left it, during which time upwards of 50 Europeans were killed on the Bastions by the enemy's small arms from Mr. Cruttenden's, Eyre's, the Church and the Company's House. The firing was so hot from the top of the Church that they at last were obliged to abandon the easterly curtain and bastions." Then when the enemy scaled the walls of the Fort "numbers were cut to pieces on the walls: all who wore red coats without mercy."⁹² Mr. Grey, Junior, one of the Company's servants, relates:—"Next morning the enemy having got possession of the Church and houses round the fort from thence galled our men with small arms killing several of them (among whom was Captain Smith) and wounding many of the officers."⁹³ Holwell's evidence may be admitted when corroborated:—"The 20th in the morning the enemy formed three assaults at once against the north-west bastion, against the north-west futtock or barrier, and against the windows of the laboratory (sic) on the eastern curtain, and attempted to scale to the north-westward. From each of these assaults they were beat off with great loss to them before noon.....when finding we had 25 killed and 70 or more of our best men wounded and our Train killed, wounded and deserted to all but 14 and not two hours' ammunition left, we threw out a flag of truce towards the evening intending to amuse the enemy and make the best retreat we could in the night to the "Saint George," not then knowing she was on a sand opposite to Omichund's house."⁹⁴ Governor Drake in his Narrative gives similar evidence.⁹⁵ Mr. William Lindsay, who received permission to leave the Fort on the 19th on account of his lameness, wrote to the historian Orme at Madras thus:—"The gentlemen in the Fort being now quite desperate fought like madmen. On Sunday morning there was above forty men killed on one bastion.....About half an hour after this the Moors scaled the walls on all quarters in a manner almost incredible to Europeans. Now the gentlemen looked upon their situation as the most desperate. Lieutenant Blagg defended the bastion he was upon till he and his men were cut to pieces. This officer behaved with the greatest bravery."⁹⁶ William Tooke, who left the fort on the 19th relates:—"The defence of the place was carried on briskly under the new commanderie, but with the loss of several people; among the killed was Lieutenant Smyth and the wounded Ensign Coales of the militia and Piccard of the military.....June the 20th, early in the morning the enemy attacked

(92) Hill, Vol. 1 p. 88.

(93) Hill, Vol. 1 p. 108.

(94) Hill, Vol. 1 p. 88, 114.

(95) Hill, Vol. 1 p. 139.

(96) Hill, Vol. 1 p. 168.

the N.E. and N.W. bastions with great fury, but after a dispute of about three hours were obliged to retire.....About four o'clock in the afternoon the factory was taken, when many lost their lives."⁹⁷ Then there is the account sent by the Council to the Court of Directors which has already been quoted in full.

Thus stands revealed the story of a memorable and gallant defence, a defence so desperate that it did not cease till all the defenders except a mere handful were lying dead or dying on the bastions of the fort, a defence worthy of a place in the annals of British valour. But what has been the fate of the heroic defenders of Fort William? Has any Englishman reverently searched for their names? Has any historian worthily enshrined their heroism in his pages? One only has done this—and he a man of alien race—and his words have been despised and rejected by us all. "Mr. Drake," writes Ghulam Husain Khan, the author of the *Seir Mutaqherin*, "finding that matters went hard with him, abandoned everything, and fled without so much as giving notice to his countrymen. He took shelter on board a ship, and with a small number of friends and principal persons he disappeared at once. Those that remained, finding themselves abandoned by their chief, concluded their case must be desperate; yet most of them were impressed with such a sense of honour that preferring death to life, they fought it out until their powder and ball failing at last, they bravely drank up the bitter cup of death; some others, seized by the claws of destiny, were made prisoners." Even through the words of the translation we can respond to the thrill in the heart of the gallant historian—a soldier himself—when he wrote about "most of them" dying gloriously and we can feel the perceptible cold drop when he added, almost by an afterthought it seems, "some others" were made prisoners. Do we know the grave of these men? Yes; their bodies were promiscuously thrown into the ditch of the ravelin of Fort William and their names are inscribed on a monument built over the spot which libellously proclaims to the world that they died ignominious deaths in a dungeon.⁹⁸ Has the reader the slightest doubt of this? Does not his heart instinctively tell him who is speaking the truth—Holwell who declares that Lieutenant Blagg died in the Black Hole, or Lindsay who asserts that the Lieutenant died as a British officer knows how to die—sword in hand, leading his men in one last desperate charge against an overwhelming band of foes.

(97) Hill, Vol. I p. 263, 270.

(98) This is a melancholy fact, but the words are not intended to convey the shadow of a reproach on the donor of the monument. That would be both ungrateful and unjustifiable. The monument expressed in a concrete form the belief universal among English-speaking races all over the world. It is obvious that this paper could not have been written before 1905 the year in which Mr. Hill's volumes were published. All, therefore, that is permitted to us is to regret that the information published in 1905 was not known in 1902 the year in which the monument was erected.

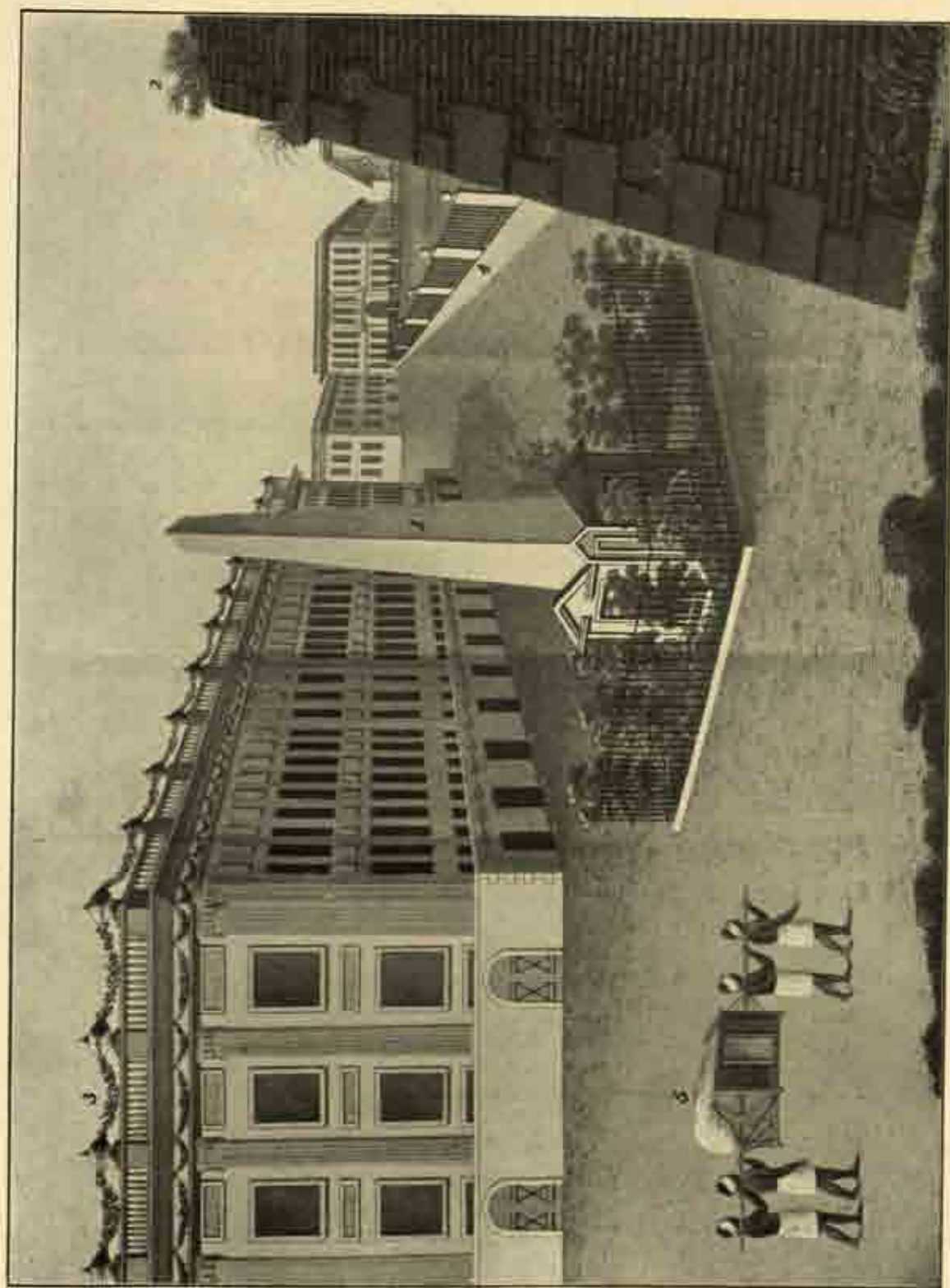
But the reader may call for cold proof and that, too, is forthcoming. What has to be proved is this; if these men died in the defence of the fort there were only a very few left to go into the Black Hole. What will actually be proved is the converse of this, that is, if the men whose names are in Holwell's list died in the Black Hole then not more than one or two died in the defence of the fort. Once more we delve in¹⁰ Mr. Hill's rich mine and bring forth "a Summary of a list of Inhabitants, &c., who bore arms at late siege of Calcutta, dated 1 July, 1756." The names of those who were "killed or otherwise lost their lives" are placed in italics in the list and the only liberty the writer has taken is to set them out in two columns, the first column containing the names of those who survived the siege and the second those who lost their lives. The writer has added the particulars placed against each name and the references are to Mr. Hill's volumes.

SURVIVORS.

KILLED.

COMPANY'S SERVANTS.

Deske (Governor); left fort 19th June (I 41, 107, 112, 158, 189, 262).	Byre; died in Black Hole. (I 199, III 133) see note at end.
Manningham; left fort 18th June (I 41, 86, 107, 112, 151, 154, 165, 189, 261).	Baillie (of Council); died in Black Hole.
Pearkes; escaped when fort was taken (I 44).	Bellamy; shot himself before the attack (I 43; III 71.)
Frankland; left fort 18th June (I 41, 86, 107, 112, 151, 154, 165, 189, 261.)	Coates; died in Black Hole.
Mackay; left fort 19th June (I 41, 87, 107, 112, 158, 189, 262.)	Vallcourt; died in Black Hole.
Holwell; survived Black Hole.	Jenks; died in Black Hole.
Samner; left fort 18th June (I 189).	Rereley; died in Black Hole.
Court; survived Black Hole.	Law; died in Black Hole.
Conke; survived Black Hole.	
Billers; left fort 19th June (I 41, 107, 190.)	Job; died in Black Hole.
Ellis; left fort 19th June (I 41, 107, 190.)	Carm; died in the Black Hole.
Tooke; left fort 19th June (I 41, 107, 190.)	Drake; died in Black Hole.
Rider; left fort 19th June (I 41, 107, 190.)	Smith; killed 18th June (I 43, 107, 260.)
Lindsay; left fort 19th June (I 153, 154.)	Thornby; killed 17th June (I 40, 107, 145, 257.)
Senior; left fort 19th June (I 41, 107, 190.)	Dalrymple; died in Black Hole.
Vaunet; left fort 19th June (I 41, 107, 190.)	Wilkinson; killed 18th June (I 40, 107, 260.)
Orr; left fort 19th June (I 107, 190.)	Byng; died in Black Hole.
Laycume; left fort 19th June (I 41, 107, 190.)	Page-Stephen; died in Black Hole.
Lambington; survived Black Hole.	Page, Edward; died in Black Hole.
Charlton; left fort 19th June (I 41, 107, 190.)	Johnson; died in Black Hole.
Hardet; survived Black Hole.	Harwood; died in Black Hole (Harod, III 153.)



"MONUMENT AT CALCUTTA CALLED THE BLACK-HOLE."

1. The Monument.

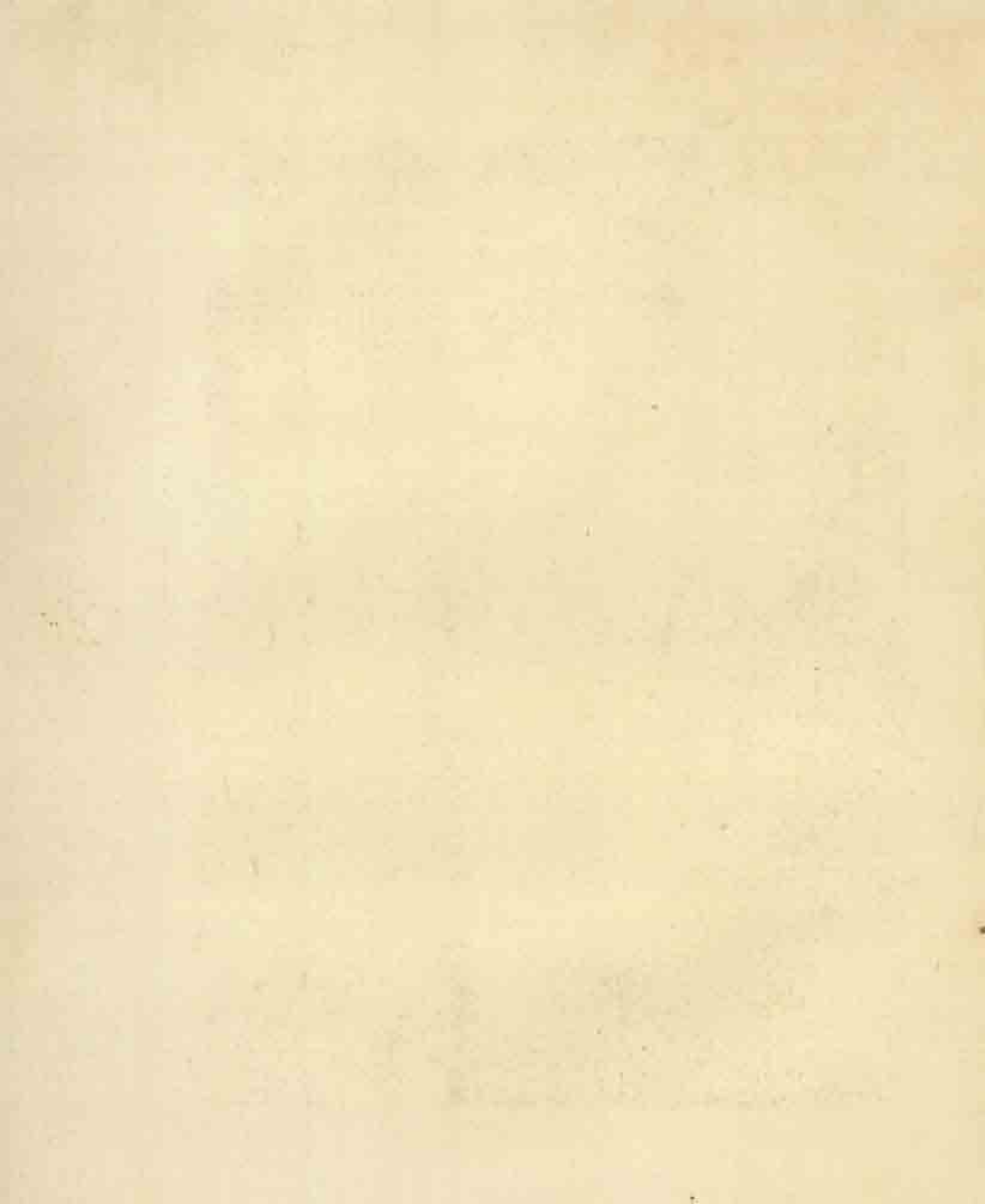
2. The Old Fort.

3. Buildings for the Civil Officers of the Company.

4. Enchanted pond in the middle of the Town.

5. A Palanquin.

[Frontispiece to Vol. II of *A Voyage in the Indian Ocean and Bengal undertaken in the years 1789 and 1790*. Translated from the French of L. de Grandpré, an Officer in the French Army. London, 1803.]



SURVIVORS.

Gray; escaped after fort taken.

KILLED.

Grub; died in Black Hole.
Street; died in Black Hole.
Gosling; died in Black Hole.
Ballard; died in Black Hole.
Dodd; died in Black Hole.
Tutano; died in Black Hole.
Knapton; died in Black Hole.

MILITARY OFFICERS.

Miechin (Commandant); left fort 19th June (I 41, 87, 112, 138, 189, 262.)

Capt. Grant; left fort 19th June (I 41, 87, 107, 112, 138, 189, 262.)

Ensign Walcott; survived Black Hole.

Ensign Carstairs; Wounded on 18th June (I 80, 111, 143, 191) see note.

O'Hara (Engineer); left fort 19th June (I 41, 87, 107, 112, 138, 189, 262.)

Capt. Clayton; died in Black Hole.

" Buchanan; died in Black Hole.

" Smith; killed on 20th June (I 42, 108, 190, 263.)

" Witherington; died in Black Hole.

Lieut. Bag; died in Black Hole.

" Hays; died in Black Hole.

" Simpson; died in Black Hole.

" Pickard; died in Black Hole.

" Talbot; Wounded 20th, died 21st (I 42, 190.)

" Bishop; died in Black Hole.

Ensign Bellamy; died in Black Hole.

" Scott; died in Black Hole.

" Hastings; died in Black Hole.

" Wedderburn; died in Black Hole.

CLERGY.

Maplatoff; left fort 19th June (I 41, 87, 107, 112, 138, 189, 262.)

Bellamy; died in Black Hole (III 153) (marked sick in list)

DOCTORS.

Gray; escaped when fort taken (I 44).

Pullerton; left fort 19th June (I 41, 190.)

Taylor; escaped when fort taken (I 44.)

Knox Senior; escaped when fort taken (I 44.)

Knox Junior; escaped when fort taken (I 44.)

Flancker; cannot be traced

Inglis; a mistake? or Dr. English escaped when fort taken (I 44) Perhaps died at Fulta.

LAWYERS.

Pitnam; left fort 18th or 19th (I 190)

Ridge; left fort 19th June (I 41, 190)

Atkinson; at Fulta in July (III 75) (died in Black Hole-Holwell)

Mackpherson; cannot be traced (marked sick in list)

Dumbleton (Registrar); died in Black Hole

Berdal; (Berdal?) died in Black Hole

Coker; died in Black Hole (I 43; III 72)

Porter; died in Black Hole (I 43, 190; III 72)

Hillier; died in Black Hole (I 43, III 72)

FREE MERCHANTS.

Baumont; left fort 18th or 19th (I 133, 129)

Morgan; left fort 18th or 19th (I 190)

Stevens; died in Black Hole

SURVIVORS.

Holmes; left fort 18th June (I 152, 154, 189, 261)
 Douglas; left fort 18th June (I 112, 189, 262)
 Wood; left fort 18th or 19th (I 190)
 Cruttenden; left fort 19th June (I 41, 107, 190)
 Blachford; cannot be traced; marked sick in list
 Nixon; left fort 19th June (I 153, 190)
 Cole; cannot be traced; marked sick in list

KILLED.

INHABITANTS.

Baldrick; left fort 19th June (I 41, 112, 189)
 Pye Finch; left fort 18th or 19th (I 190)
 Wilson (tailor); a mistake? (died in Black Hole, III 72)
 Randle (tailor); cannot be traced
 Phillips (tailor); cannot be traced
 Whaley (butcher); left fort 19th June (I 41, 190)
 Burton (butcher); left fort 18th or 19th (I 190)
 Alsop (butcher); a mistake? (died in Black Hole; III 72)
 Cole (carpenter); at Fulta in July (III 76)
 Todd (carpenter); at Fulta? see declaration signed James Tod (III 418)
 Tilley (court serjeant); a mistake? died in Black Hole (III 72)
 Blaney (joiner); at Fulta in July (III 76)
 Barnett (joiner); a mistake? (died in Black Hole? III 72)
 Moulder (coachman); cannot be traced.
 Simms (footman); cannot be traced.

Parker; died in Black Hole (190; III 154)
 Stopford (butcher); died in Black Hole (I 43)
 Guy (carpenter); died in Black Hole (I 190; III 154)
 Surman (carpenter); cannot be traced
 Stopford (carpenter); died in Black Hole (I 43)
 Blue (carpenter) Bleu? died in Black Hole (I 190; III 153)
 Leath (smith); died in Black Hole (III 134)
 Burton (smith); died in Black Hole (III 72)
 Cartwright (court serjeant); died in Black Hole (I 190; III 154)
 Bruce (court serjeant); cannot be traced.
 Coverley (tailor; gabler?) a mistake? at Fulta in July (III 76)
 Osborne (sailmaker); died in Black Hole (I 190; III 154)
 Johnson (farrier); cannot be traced.

FOREIGNERS.

Carvalho; left fort 18th or 19th (I 190)
 Albert; left fort 18th or 19th (I 190)
 Le Beau; wounded 18th and escorted ladies on board ships (I, 80, 148, 151, 154)
 Montague; cannot be traced.

Mackpherson Daniel; killed in attack (I 261; II 37; III 72)
 Montrong; cannot be traced.
 Coquelin; a mistake? there is a Cockyane, a French seafaring gentleman, at Fulta in July (III 76)
 Montr; cannot be traced
 Fiere; cannot be traced.
 Pinlot; cannot be traced

SURVIVORS.

Beanto { no trace unless these are the three
 Cayano { Portuguese priests at Pulta in July
 Joam { (III. 76.)
 Bodle; cannot be traced.

KILLED.

FIDLERS (sic).

Ling; left fort on 19th June. Janniko; cannot be traced.
 Tubell }
 Himbrat } cannot be traced
 Henetiko }
 John }

SEA CAPTAINS AND OFFICERS.

Rennie; left fort 18th or 19th (I. 190.) Parnel; survived Black Hole, died next day.
 (III. 154.)
 Wainmley; left fort 18th or 19th (I. 190.) Carey; died in Black Hole (I. 190; III. 154.)
 Weddlesburn; left fort on 18th (I. 112, 152, 189, 261.) Hunt; died in Black Hole (I. 190; III. 154.)
 Widdrington; at Pulta in July (III. 76.) Collins; drowned when making his escape from
 the fort (I. 44; III. 72.)
 Nickleson; left fort 18th or 19th (I. 190.) Pickering; wounded on 20th (I. 42, 191; no
 further trace.)
 Young; left fort 18th or 19th (I. 190.)
 Watmore; left fort 19th (I. 190.)
 Sanders; at Pulta in July (III. 76.)
 Campbell; left fort on 19th (I. 190.)
 Dixon; survived Black Hole (I. 190.)
 Mills; survived Black Hole (I. 190.)
 Lewis; escaped when fort taken (I. 44.)
 Baldwin; died at Pulta in July (III. 76.)
 Austin; left fort on 19th (I. 190.)
 Best; died at Pulta (III. 76.)
 Baillie left fort 19th (I. 41, 190.)
 Laing; left fort 19th (I. 41, 190.)
 Savage; escaped when fort was taken (I. 44.)
 Johnson; escaped when fort was taken (I. 44.)
 Smith; left fort 19th (I. 41.)
 Costello; at Pulta in July (III. 76.)
 Corous; at Pulta in July (III. 76.)
 Lord; left fort on 19th (I. 41.)
 Graham; went off in one of the Company's sloops (I. 263.)
 Aston; at Pulta in July (III. 75.)
 Summers; left fort on 19th (I. 41, 190.)
 Iver; cannot be traced.
 Caley; cannot be traced.
 Elvin; left fort on 19th (I. 41, 190.)
 Champion; left fort on 19th (I. 190.)
 Brown; cannot be traced.
 Hugue; captain of Prince George, escaped to Chinturah (I. 42; III. 416.)

SURVIVORS.		KILLED.
SEA CAPTAINS AND OFFICERS.— <i>contd.</i>		
Downey	} Cannot be traced but probably the officers who are mentioned as having left the fort with their captains (I. 190.)	
Whitbridge		
Morain		
McKenzie		
Dundas		
Lemmon		
PILOTS.		
Deans	} Cannot be traced except Morris who ran the "Prince George" ashore and escaped to Chinsurah (I. 41.)	
Parsons		
Toel		
Mc Laughlin		
Tart		
Pennatz		
Morris		

In addition to the above there were 35 European soldiers, 25 European artillery, 190 *topasas*, 50 Portuguese and Armenian militia. (These European soldiers were probably Dutch.)⁽¹⁰⁰⁾

From the list the reader will see that the casualties in the 30 hours fighting were:—none of the Company's servants killed; one military officer (Smith) killed and one (Talbot) wounded who died the next day but was not placed in the Black Hole; one sea-lieutenant (Pickering) wounded who subsequently died but where is not known; in addition one foreigner, with the familiar name of Macpherson, was killed in the attack but whether in the fighting that took place from the 16th to the 19th June or afterwards is not known; lastly the deaths of one carpenter, one court serjeant, one farrier, one foreigner and one fiddler cannot be accounted for.

On the other hand 23 of the Company's servants died in the Black Hole; 12 military officers; one clergyman; 5 lawyers; 1 free merchant; 9 (or 13) men of various trades, and 3 sea-captains.

But Holwell says that by one o'clock on the 20th he had lost of his *best men* 25 killed and more than 70 wounded and to these must be

(100) The above list contains the names of 194 Europeans. In addition there were 300 defenders besides, making a total of 494. It may be asked if the list is accurate. Governor Drake, who kept the rolls, gives the total as 515 and William Lindsay gives the same figure.

They give the artillery as 35 instead of 25 as in the list and thus 10 are accounted for. William Tooles gives the total as 475. In each list the number of Europeans, apart from Dutch, approximates to 200. (Hill, Vol. I. 137, 171, 255.)

With regard to Ensign Carstairs who was wounded on the 18th no further information is obtainable except that he lost an arm (I. 189) and survived the siege. Captain Mills, however, says that all the wounded were taken on board the ships on the 19th and he probably was taken with them.

Where no reference has been given for victims or survivors of Black Hole Holwell's lists (I. 190; III. 153) are to be understood.

added those who fell in the final assault; which is manifestly absurd. Therefore, Holwell cannot have his casualties and also his Black Hole victims. *Quod erat demonstrandum.*

The reader may enquire, "Did no inkling of the truth filter through to England?" and once more we find the information required in Mr. Hill's volumes.¹⁰¹ In the "London Chronicle" (From Tuesday, 7 June, to Thursday, 9 June 1757, No. 69) appeared a letter "received by the India ships arrived in Ireland, containing a particular account of the unfortunate affair at Bengal." It seems to have been written by one of the survivors of the Black Hole tragedy for it relates how "170 of us¹⁰² were crammed into a hole not large enough for fifty of us to breathe in; the effect of it was, that only sixteen were alive the next morning, four of us were sent to the Nabob's camp, and put into irons; but what became of the other twelve that escaped hell in miniature, I have not been able to learn." To this letter is appended a list "of the persons killed in the defence of Calcutta and Fort William when attacked by the Moors in June 1756, also those who died in the Black Hole *overheated and for want of water.*" Yet from this list, apparently made out by a survivor, we learn that William Baillie (of Council) died "with a shot in his head." Lieutenant Pickard was "wounded and died before the place was taken." Lieutenant Bishop died of his wounds before the place was taken. Ensign Blagg was "cut to pieces on a bastion" (corroborating Lindsay); Carse was "cut to pieces, having rashly fired a pistol after the place was taken." Sea-captain Purnal was killed in the attack and Stephenson also; so too were Parker, Cary and Macpherson. All these, except Macpherson, are in Holwell's list of victims. The probability is that the writer gave these particulars from his own personal knowledge while those about whom he had no personal knowledge he placed in the Black Hole. Had more such lists been sent home we should probably be able, by comparing them all, to eliminate all the names of the men said to have been in the Black Hole except those of the few who were actually there.

But the writer may be asked:—"How do you explain the fact that the Black Hole is mentioned by men who were in Bengal at the time when the incident is said to have occurred?" These men are:—Captain Grant,¹⁰³ Watts and Collet¹⁰⁴ (joint letter), Grey Junior,¹⁰⁵ Drake,¹⁰⁶ Lindsay¹⁰⁷ and Tooke.¹⁰⁸ But surely this is not strange. There was a Black Hole

(101) Vol. III. p. 70-72.

(102) The writer may however, possibly be writing merely as one of the Company's servants of military expression "Jones of Ours."

(103) Hill, Vol. I. p. 88. (104) p. 102. (105) p. 109. (106) p. 159. (107) p. 168. (108) p. 264.

prison. Men were shut up in it on the night of the 20th June. Holwell could place his hand on his heart and declare he was there. Cooke could swear on the Bible to the same effect. Besides there is a very significant fact about all these accounts. They were all written in the month of July, 1756,¹⁰⁹ when rumours were flying broadcast. After that month there is a significant silence. Men began to think. They began to add up and subtract and to ask how it was possible that all those men could have died in the Black Hole. So that in September when the Council at Fulta sent their letter to the Court of Directors the matter was dropped entirely. That letter was signed by Drake, Watts, Killpatrick, Becher, Pearkes, Frankland, Collet, Holwell, Mackett, Amyatt and Boddam. Is it believable that Holwell did not strive to add to the concluding words of the fifth paragraph of the letter (which has already been quoted in full) the sentence "but the Nawab broke his promise and 123 men lost their lives in the Black Hole?" Is it unfair to draw the conclusion that he was overruled by a majority of the Council? Can we blame these men that the world has believed a fable? If we do have they not their reply? "The fable is not supported by our authority. Read our words given to the world after grave deliberation in Council. We stated that the fort surrendered on promise of civil treatment to the prisoners but we nowhere said that they did not receive civil treatment. We stated that the Rev. Gervas Bellamy died in the Black Hole, and that statement is true, but we nowhere said that any other of the Company's servants died in the Black Hole. Nay, we plainly said that they *were killed* at the capture of Fort William."¹¹⁰ If in place of calling for our official despatches the world accepted the statements of irresponsible individuals let the world look to it. It was not our duty to prick a bubble nor to expose any of the Company's Servants."

Nor does the fable appear to have received the support of the Directors of the East India Company. They picked out a man whom they considered to be entitled to a particular mark of their regard for "the hardships he underwent in continuing to discharge his duty in the defence thereof (Fort William) until the Nabob became master of the place." The name of that man was not John Zephaniah Holwell. It was Paul Richard Pearkes¹¹¹.

(109) Except Tooke's Account, which was written at the end of the year. Probably in writing his long account he did not wish to omit a good story.

The slightly veiled references of Governor Pigot and Clive to the event are not to be taken seriously. They are so evidently written to support the attack of the English on Siraj-ud-Daula and were only written to Indians. Pigot to Siraj-ud-Daula (Hill, I. 242); Clive (1) to Jagat Seth (I. 24) (2) to the Emperor at Delhi (II. 461) (3) to the Vizier (II. 493). They seem half-ashamed to refer plainly to the affair. In any case they must stand by their official words and deeds.

(110) "Enclaved is a list of the covenant servants upon our establishment, which compared with the list sent you last season will mark out those who are dead, most of whom were killed at the taking of Fort William: Messrs. Hyndman, Lyndsay, and Vassar died at Fulta of fevers." Letter of Council to Court of Directors dated the 31st January 1757 (Hill II. p. 192).

(111) Long's *Selections from Unpublished Records of Govt.* p. 130.

A few words on the narratives of "survivors" may be of interest. Holwell's chief narrative has been dealt with in full, but the remains are extant of what was evidently the rough draft of an original version. When Holwell, on his journey to Murshidabad, passed Cassimbazar he wrote to Sykes, one of the Company's servants there, and therefore this must be the very earliest version of the incident that we have. Sykes gives the purport of Holwell's letter,¹¹² as far as it referred to the Black Hole thus:—"As soon as the Nabob arrived in the fort he found with covenanted servants, soldiers and officers to the number of 160 (sic) who were put into a place called the Black Hole and jammed so close that out of 160 put in alive the next morning 110 were brought out dead for want of air. Jenks Reveley, Law, Eyres, Baillie, Cooke, Captain Buchanan, Scott and all our other military officers and Covenanted servants dead. The writers and officers behaved bravely. A prodigious number of Moors are killed. *All the night our poor gentlemen were in the Black Hole the Nabob's people keep firing at them through the door.*" That this was not a mistake on the part of Sykes is shown by Captain Grant's account which states "Some of those who give us the account, say that they fired upon them all night with small arms through the doors and windows, but this is contradicted by others."¹¹³ Was it originally intended to make the tragedy a massacre?

Mr. Secretary Cooke's account may be read in the First Report of the Committee of the House of Commons and extracts have already been made from this. There remain two other narratives by survivors. One of these occurs in the diary of Captain Mills¹¹⁴ and runs thus:—"Most of those that remained in the fort were put into the Black Hole, to the number of 144 *men, women, and children*. Of whom upwards of 120 were miserably smothered by the heat occasioned by so many being shut up in so small a place, as to be obliged to stand upon one another." He then gives a list of the victims followed by one of the survivors. The list of the latter agrees with that of Holwell in including Captain Mills himself, Captain Dickson and Messrs. Moran and Meadows. The existence of the last two men rests solely on the evidence of Holwell and Mills.¹¹⁵ The lists differ in the fact that while Holwell is content to dismiss the remaining survivors under the general term "soldiers and Gunners" Mills gives ten more names. His poverty of invention in the matter of Christian names is shown by the fact that he calls six of the ten "John." The writer of the latter in the "London Chronicle" quoted above states that Captain Mills was one of those who were

[112] Hill, Vol. I, p. 62.

[113] Hill, Vol. I, p. 88.

[114] Hill Vol. I p. 43; spelling as given in original.

[115] Holwell calls Meadows "John." Mills calls him "Thomas."

in the fort at the time of its capture, but who were not put into the Black Hole, and the nature of his narrative bears out this statement.

Then there is the note discovered in a copy of Holwell's "Tracts" and reproduced by Dr. Busteed in his "Echoes from Old Calcutta" ¹¹⁶ which records a visit paid to Mrs. Carey "the last survivor of those unfortunate persons who were imprisoned in the Black Hole of Calcutta." Of this it is sufficient to say that the lady confirmed all that Holwell had said about the Black Hole in his "Narrative," that she was only fifteen at the time of the occurrence and that she puts her mother, her sister, and an indefinite number of soldiers' wives and children into the Black Hole besides herself.

To conclude, what shall be said of Messrs. Holwell, Cooke and Co. who did this thing. Clive read them aright. "I would have you guard against anything these gentlemen can say," he warned Governor Pigott, "for, believe me, they are bad subjects and rotten at heart.the riches of Peru and Mexico should not induce me to dwell among them." ¹¹⁷ As for us let us repair the mischief they have wrought and let them go.

MURSHIDABAD,
August, 1915.

J. H. LITTLE

(116) p. 30 (2nd edition), Holwell is the sole authority for the existence of Mrs. Carey. Mills does not include her in his list. It is very significant also that Holwell forgot her when he compiled his first list (l. 190) and only added her name when he compiled the list appended to his "Narrative." (Another name that Holwell forgot in his first list is that of Leech, who figures in the "Narrative.") There was a Miss Carey at Fulta in July."

(117) Malcolm's Life I. 138.

Leaves from the Editor's Note-Book.

IN my article on "Some Notes on Burial Grounds" in vol. X of *Bengal Past & Present* there appears an unfortunate misprint. In the third line of the inscription at the top of page 186 the name should be "DIROM" not "DIXON." For a note on the Dirum family see Lt.-Col. D. G. Crawford's article on "Letters from Calcutta and Jessore" in vol. IV of *Bengal Past & Present* (p. 462 et seq.).

The following is an extract from the *Statesman* of October 24th 1915 —
During the excavations which are in progress on the site of the now demolished Royal Exchange in Clive Street, Calcutta, an interesting discovery has been made, in the shape of two old wells, each some 20 feet deep. They are situated in the northern part of the site and have been filled now with lime concrete. The wells are estimated to be more than 150 years old. The site, on which at one time stood a building successively occupied by Warren Hastings and Clive, is assumed to have been earlier covered by Anson, and it is probable that the wells were then sunk.

Some light on the Barwell correspondence is afforded by two recent Government publications. Vol. II of the *Calendar of the Persian Correspondence*, issued by the Imperial Record Department gives the following *precis* of a post-script to a letter, dated March 17th 1767, from Muhammad Riza Khan to Francis Sykes.

"Has been informed that Mr. Barwell is going to be appointed to the chieftainship of Dacca.

The behaviour of that gentleman to the inhabitants of Ma'la is as manifest as the sun. So violent were his proceedings that it was impossible to check them. The restrictions that were placed on his affairs of timber, saltpetre, etc. irritated him to the most violent remonstrances. Now that he is going to Dacca, he will take to his old ways again, so that much confusion and disorder will take place throughout these parts. Jassart Khan and Raja Maha Singh, who are stationed in authority there on the writer's part, will experience the same treatment from him as the writer himself formerly did in the transactions of timber and saltpetre; and any trouble the said persons may be involved in on that account will be equally felt by the writer. Mr. Cartier, while he was Chief of Dacca, acted with so much moderation and equity towards the *Amils* that the writer received constant satisfaction and the affairs of the Sarkar were administered with success and justice. Fears that when Mr. Barwell is appointed Chief of Dacca, everything will fall into disorder and perpetual interruption will obstruct the *Amils* in the discharge of their duties. Has set forth these

circumstances in their faithful light. For the rest whatever is the Governor's pleasure, may be done." (p. 49).

A re-assuring letter was sent to Muhammad Riza Khan.

The Calendar of Records of the Select Committee at Fort William recently printed for the Bengal Secretariat Record Room shows that Barwell in 1766 employed an agent of the name of Mertle, under whom a number of Europeans were employed in "the cutting down of timber in the Morung country" [*i. e.* the Nepal Tarai]. The Calendar (p. 66) shows that "the Ministers of Government" [*i. e.* the Nawab's people] had provided 7,000 timbers, but "that they cannot transmit them to Calcutta, as all the boats have been employed by W. Barwell in his own business." The Select Committee, therefore, on Oct. 7th, ordered two of Barwell's agents, Barton and Peiarce, to return to Calcutta, "as they are resolved that no European should, in future remain in the Morung country to disturb the business of the Government."

The following extracts from contemporary papers were collected by me during my Shillong days. I think they are worth keeping on record. I visited Nongklaw in 1906, but owing to an unfortunate accident, was unable to take a photograph of the Burlton-Bedingfield Monument.

1829, Nov.

Murder of Lieut. Bedingfield and Burlton. We are concerned to state that accounts have been received from Mr. Scott, the Agent to the Governor-General in Assam, communicating the melancholy intelligence that two British Officers, who were residing for the benefit of their health at Nunclo, in the Cossyah* Hills, have been cut off by the hill people at that place. The particulars are not yet fully known; but it is understood that Lieut. Bedingfield, one of the sufferers, was murdered on the spot, and his head severed from his body; with respect to the other officer, Lieut. Burlton, he is said to have taken refuge in the bangalow with four sepoy, and to have defended himself until the next morning, when he effected his escape, and retreated for sixteen or twenty miles towards Gowhatry. A shower of rain coming on, the fire arms of the small party, were rendered useless; the men with Lieut. Burlton then disposed themselves in the jungle, but one of the sepoy made good his way to Assam, where he fell in with a detachment proceeding to Nunclo. This man reports that he saw Lieut. Burlton pulled down, exhausted with fatigue, when he was surrounded and carried off by the Cossyha. We fear, therefore, that but slender hopes can be entertained of his ultimate fate. Mr. Scott was at the same time at Cherra Panjee, considerably to the southward of Nunclo, in the Pundash range of hills, towards Sylhet, and had called for a party of the Sylhet Local corps, with which he was to return to Nunclo. The principal members of the Nunclo Rajah's family had come in to Mr. Scott, and expressed their abhorrence of the treacherous act alluded to; which, however, was perpetrated, it is said, in his own presence.

It is but a short time ago that we published extracts from the journal of Mr. Walters, amongst the hill tribes, or Cossyha, descriptive of the scenery of the Pundash mountains, and making such gratifying mention of the manners and disposition of the people, as could scarcely have prepared

* Khasi Hills.

as for account of such a violent and atrocious nature as it has been our sad task to refer to. They are, it would appear, a wild uncivilized race, inhabiting that mountainous belt of country extending about fifty miles in peaks between Axum and Syber. For all accounts, they are not destitute of those rude virtues peculiar to hill tribes, and in the absence of more reasonable motives for the atrocious outrage just committed in their territories, it may, perhaps, be attributed to one of those blindly vindictive paroxysms, founded on some mistaken principle, to which wild and savage people occasionally yield. In language and appearance, no less than in customs, they are said to differ materially from the surrounding tribes. They are unacquainted with the use of fire arms, and employ bows and arrows in their petty warfare.

It may be recollected that, by a treaty executed about three years ago, the Rajah of Nunklow made himself subject to the Hon. Company, and placed his country under the protection of our Government; and the Political Agent had, with his permission, erected a bungalow for invalids at Nunklow, the capital of his country. The site chosen for the sanatorium was on table-land, elevated between 5,000 and 6,000 feet above the plains, with climate so cold, that for three months in the year the rivulets are in the mornings fringed with ice, and the ground frequently covered with snow, and this too within three weeks' voyage from Calcutta. The place was generally approved of, not only as respected its own merits as a sanatory station, but as likely to facilitate a friendly intercourse with our new neighbours, and the improvement of the roads and tracts of a rugged country, hitherto but little known to Europeans. *Government Gazette April 23, 1829.*

Later accounts from the south-east frontier, we understand, have been received confirmatory of the melancholy intelligence mentioned in our last. The apprehension we then expressed respecting the fate of Lieut. Burton, we lament to say, has proved to be well founded.

Rajah Tserut Singh, after the massacre of Nunklow, in which between thirty and forty men were killed, including two unfortunate English Gentlemen, moved southward, perhaps, with the hope of overpowering the Political Agent. Whatever his farther designs might have been, however, they were completely frustrated by the prompt operations of the Political Agent, who, calling in the aid of the Syllhet Light Infantry battalion, directed Capt. Lister, commanding that Corps, to proceed against the insurgents. Accordingly, that officer being instructed that the Rajah, with a considerable body of followers, had taken up a position in the strong fortified village of Moonlee,* three miles west of Cherra Poonge, lost no time in proceeding to attack the place, and a communication, dated the 14th instant, states that, after some resistance, the place was taken by storm, when several of the Rajah's party were killed, but he himself made his escape, being favoured by the thickness of the jungles.

A communication of the 15th instant, from Mamloo mentions the intelligence having been received that the Rajah, or some of his followers was at Ly-Runchoo, a place situated on a mountain, about 3,000 feet high, and separated from Mamloo by an extensive valley. Captain Lister made arrangements for moving on this place. From the difficulties of the road, and the ease with which many parts of it might have been defended, it was considered advisable to attempt taking the place by surprise. At midnight, therefore, Capt. Lister, with a party of 100 sepoy, marched secretly for Ly-Runchoo, during a storm of rain. A little before day-break he reached the place, which he found evacuated, but destroyed it; and after giving his party a few hours' rest, returned to Mamloo. Tserut Singh was reported still to be in the neighbourhood, but the number of his followers, it is said, was considerably reduced. *Government Gazette April 27, 1829.*

Extract from a private letter.—You have heard no doubt, by this time of the melancholy fate of poor Beddingfield and Burling, who were both barbarously murdered at Nunklow, near Gowlatty, the former on the 4th, and the latter on the 5th instant. Both had gone there for the benefit of their health. Four or five hundred Konyah and Garwa surrounded the house, and poor Beddingfield went out amongst them, unarmed to see what they wanted; they immediately seized him, and after

* Mawmluh.

tying his hands behind his back, and cutting the tendons of his legs, commenced shooting at him with their arrows. It is said that he told them, if it was his life that they wanted, to kill him outright at once; which they accordingly did, and cutting off his head, planted it on the rock where the house formerly stood. Poor Burlton, upon seeing his friend's fate, defended the house, assisted by a few sepoye of the Assam Light Infantry and his servants, and held out in a gallant style for a day and a night, until the house was set on fire; when they sallied out, and made good a retreat of about ten miles towards Gowhaty, and by keeping up a constant fire, kept the savages off, until a dreadful shower of rain coming on, wetted their ammunition, and rendered their firearms of no use. The small party then dispersed; a few of those who took shelter in the jungle escaped, but Burlton and an European writer (Bowman) having both kept the pathway, were immediately massacred. The former was in the act of extricating an arrow from his wrist, when he was cut down, being in an exhausted state from the immense exertions he had made, and his previous ill health. *Asiatic Journal*, Dec. 1829.

Transactions on the N. E. Frontier. Letters of the 23rd of May have been received from the N. E. Frontier, but their contents, for the most part, have been anticipated by the advices alluded to in our last. Teerut Singh was still lurking about with a very few followers in the jungle, but measures had been adopted for his apprehension by the Political Agent of the Governor-General, which, in all probability, will soon have the desired effect. As already stated, the inhabitants of all the principal villages had come in and made their submission to the British Government, and until something could be determined on in regard to the disposal of the country, the most expedient steps were taken by the Political Agent, for the due administration of justice, etc.

Burmanick, the Rajah of Moleem, after the affairs of Nongdoo, had taken refuge, it is supposed among the rocks and caverns of the neighbourhood. Although he had evinced a most hostile spirit towards the Government on several occasions, and was implicated in the atrocious massacre at Nongklow, the Political Agent had, some weeks previous to the attack on Nongdoo, intimated to Burmanick, that if he was desirous of coming to terms, he expected to hear from him in the course of a week. Not availing himself of this opportunity to explain his conduct, and no answer having been returned to the message alluded to, Burmanick was proceeded against as stated.

By this time we have little doubt that the petty hostilities on the frontier are at an end. Indeed, beyond the immediate line of operations, their effort has not been in the slightest degree perceptible. The pacification of the district was considered so far established, that Capt. Lister was about to commence his return to Sylhet, leaving sufficient parties at proper points to keep up the communication between Assam and Sylhet, and to prevent Burmanick from again collecting any force in his former district.

The country forming the scene of operations referred to, is described as being very beautiful, and apparently enjoys a better climate even than Nongklow or Cherra Poongee, being, in a great measure, free from the mists which prevail at these places, owing to their proximity to the plains. Of the salubrity of the country, a more convincing proof need not be required than the fact that the military force, amounting to about 200 men, although moving about some five weeks, had only four or five men on the sick list. *Government Gazette* June 4, 1829.

The following extract from a letter from the Bengal Council to the Court of Directors supplies some useful historical information. The letter is dated Nov. 12, 1761.

To the Honble. the Court of Directors for Affairs of the Honble. the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies.
May it please your Honors,

India Office
Records.

Bengal
Letters Re-
ceived, Vol.
3. P. 253.

72. Burdwan claims the first place among the articles of your revenues. We advised you in our general address of last season dated the 16th Jan'y, 1761, that we had settled the payments from the Rajah for the last Bengal year ending the 10th April 1761 at Sicca Rupees ten Laak thirty five Thousand two hundred eighty four, four annas, ten pice (Sa. Rs. 1,035,284-4-10) being in conformity to the computation made by the Roy Royan by the Nabob's orders the September preceding: at the same time we assured your Honors that measures should be taken to render this possession more advantageous for the present year. With this view Mr. Sumner was appointed in the month of March to proceed to Burdwan; and soon after the Rajah by his principal Vakeel proposed to increase the Malguzary (or Government's share of the revenues which now belongs to the Company) to twenty five laak twenty one thousand six hundred sixty one rupees eight annas for the present Bengal year, and for the next to make it twenty eight laak fifty six thousand one hundred nineteen, seven annas, six pice. This we thought so considerable an augmentation that we had determined to accept of those terms, and Mr. Sumner was accordingly recalled, but upon his arrival, and informing the Board that, by some lights he had procured into the state of the revenues he imagined that upon a scrutiny more advantageous terms could be made for the Company, he was directed to return to Burdwan and impowered to make a full examination into the real produce of the Country. This commission he fulfilled with great diligence and much to our satisfaction, and on the 15th June laid before the Board his proceedings at large in twelve papers of which No. 7 is the computation of the whole produce of the Burdwan Province, being forty one laak fifty eight thousand seven hundred and seven rupees, fourteen annas, and two pice (Rs. 41,58,707-14-2). No. 10 is a state of the Malguzary¹ being what the Rajah is obliged to pay every year, except in cases of devastation by public enemies, amounting to fifteen rupees thirty laaks (Sa. Rs. 30,00,000) and for which Mr. Sumner took the Rajah's acknowledgment, but it being customary in this country for the Nabob to demand a further sum from the different Rajahs over and above the malguzary in any case of extraordinary expence, such as raising new forces, building fortifications &c. it appeared to Mr. Sumner that we might reasonably make some demands of this kind for the present year, because the Rajah by the troubles in which he engaged at the time of our taking possession really put us to an extraordinary expence, and because the assistance he now has of English troops will enable him to discharge a great part of his own. Accordingly after some objections, he signed another acknowledgment for two laaks and

¹ Malguzari.

an half to be paid on that account. A balance of more than five laaks of last years revenues remained unpaid at the close of the year, and which the Rajah and his officers declared to be outstanding in the country on account of the troubles: of these Mr. Sumner collected a part and for what remained due at the time we made the agreement with the Rajah for the new year he took another obligation the amount four laak eleven thousand eight hundred fifty seven rupees thirteen annas and four pice (Rs. 411857-13-4). The whole state of the moneys to be received from Burdwan for the present year is therefore as follows.

For the Maiguzary	...	...	...	30,00,000	0	0
For Expences of the Troops	...	...	...	2,50,000	0	0
For last year's balance which however is to be collected from the balances outstanding in the country or else to be made good by the Rajah or his principal officers so as not to interfere with this year's produce	...	...	...	4,11,857	13	0
				<u>36,61,857</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>4</u>

After this plain detail of the advantage which the Company will receive from Mr. Sumner's diligence in the execution of this trust, it is needless to add any thing in his favor. Upon his return to Calcutta the collection of the money, according to the Kistbundee or Monthly proportion settled, was left in charge to Mr. Graham, who went with Mr. Sumner as assistant, and we have the pleasure to acquaint you that to this time the payments of the thirty two Laaks and an half have been made very regularly. The collecting in the old balance meets with some difficulty, but we shall insist on all deficiencies being made good by the Rajah and his officers, and we promise ourselves that upon the whole there will be a smaller balance outstanding at the end of this year than is usually admitted in this country, notwithstanding the disadvantages the Burdwan Country has labored under this year by reason of the troubles, which were not quelled till March, and by reason of the large arrears due to the Rajah's own troops amounting to Rupees (Rs. 450000), as per No. 9, in Consultation of the 15th June, disadvantages which it will not be subject to another year.

73. We have likewise great reason to commend the diligence which Mr. Verelst and his Council at Chittagong have exerted in their enquiries. Their letter of the 5th June contains a very full account of the revenues of that province deduced from its first establishment with all its increases since. By the same letter your Honors will observe the good prospect there is of further improvements and as we approve of the several methods proposed by those

gentlemen and have an entire confidence in their management, we have given them full authority to carry them into execution in such manner as they think best. The revenues of the present year according to the said computation will be four lacks forty three thousand nine hundred and eighteen rupees, and fifteen annas (Rupees 4,43,918. 15.)

74. Mr. John Stone has shewed the same assiduity in his Department of Midnapore and we must do him the justice to remark that he has had, of all, the most difficult task. That province being made up of the districts of a great number of separate Zemindars, every one endeavoring to conceal the true value of his possessions; however, Mr. John Stone got into his hands some of the former years' accounts and having from them procured an insight into the several articles of the revenue of each Zemindary the amount paid to the Nabob with such increases as at present seem reasonable appears to be Sicca Rupees 6,65,854. 9. to but here also we may hope for annual improvements.

75. All the letters and accounts before mentioned relative to the produce of Burdwan, Chittagong and Midnapore are entered in a book kept for that purpose by the Committee of New Lands, to which we beg leave to refer your Honors for your full information.

76. The said Committee sit regularly every week and the Books of their Proceedings are sent in the Packet. We are persuaded they will give you satisfaction and answer all the good purposes intended by their appointment. The several Members have taken the management in lots of the Calcutta Purgunnahs which were before under the care of the Collector, this will enable every one of them to judge what improvements may be made at the time of the expiration of the present leases in May 1762 when it is our intention to let them in smaller lots as recommended in the 57th para. of your Letter of the 13th March 1761 and which we are entirely of your opinion will be a means of increasing the rents.

77. Agreeable to what we mentioned in our letter of the 5th March last we made public advertisement offering the Pergunnah of Corry Jury to sale upon such terms as we esteemed best calculated for encouraging some adventurer or society to undertake to clear. The terms are entered after our Consultation of the 23d March, and time was given till the 1st October for proposals to be delivered in, but none were received. We recommended it therefore to the further consideration of the Committee of New Lands who will try all possible means of encouraging and setting on foot an attempt to clear this uncultivated tract.

78. We have not seen occasion to make any alteration in the Regulation of the Customs as settled by your former President and Council and advised in the 64th paragraph of their letter of the 29th December 1759

excepting only in the article of rice, of which having suffered a severe scarcity this season, we took off the duty upon the import and increased that upon export to ten per cent. If this be a loss in the article of Customs it is abundantly made up by savings on other articles which depend entirely upon the price of grain.

79. Agreeable to your directions the management of the old farms dependant on Calcutta is kept under charge of the Collector, and Mr. Amyatt (the second in Council) having charge of that office, we appointed him nevertheless one of the Committee of New Lands, notwithstanding the restraint contained in the 58th paragraph of your commands of the 1st April 1761. We do not see the necessity of that restraint, the Collector as one of the Committee being in no respect different from the other Members.

80. We have appointed Mr. Hugh Cameron Surveyor of the New Lands and he is gone to make an accurate survey of the Calcutta Purgunnahs including Cory Jury—he had his instructions from the Committee and you will find it copied in their Proceedings.

83. In the Engineer's letter entered after the Consultation of the 13th April, he represented the advantages of extending the Esplanade as far to the southward as the Nulla or Creek near Surman's, in which opinion Col. Coote (who was present) agreeing, we determined that it should be made conformable to the Engineer's advice. The next Consultation the Collector laid before the Board an account of the expence and loss which the clearing the Esplanade to that distance would occasion, giving it as his opinion it ought not to be extended so far. The matter was therefore again debated, and the majority of the Board were of opinion that the advantages would be more than adequate to the expence, and therefore the former resolution stood confirmed. The annual loss of Revenues mentioned in the Collector's account will not in reality be any loss as the same inhabitants removed to another spot will pay the same rents.

FORT WILLIAM
The 12th November 1761.

Yours faithfully,
Henry Vansittart
P. Amyatt.
Culling Smith,
Warren Hastings.

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On 30th October 1762, the Committee write:—

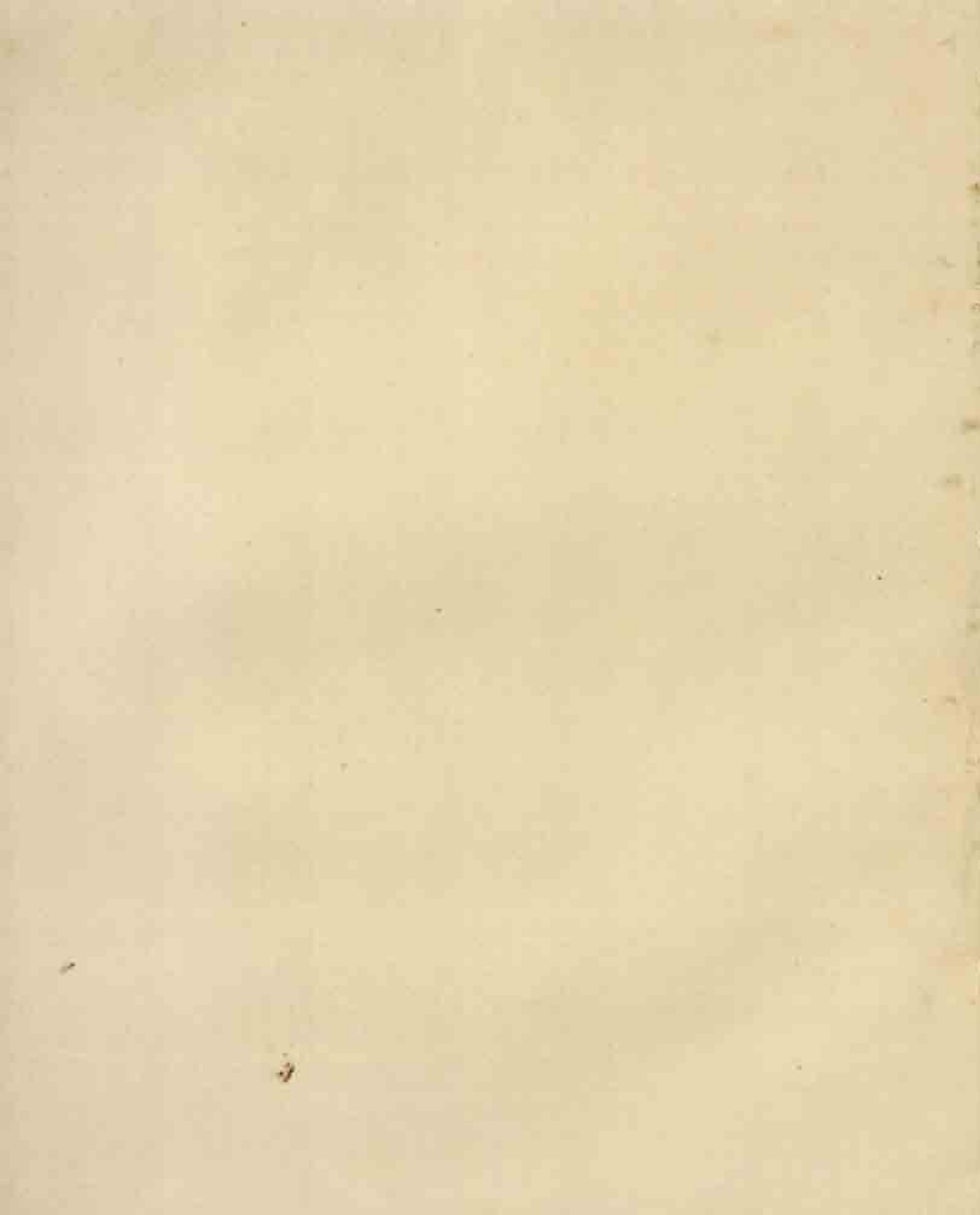
30th October 1762.

To the Hon'ble the Court of Directors for Affairs of the Hon'ble. United
Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies.



ADMIRAL SIR EDWARD HUGHES.

Portrait by Sir Joshua Reynolds in the Buda-Pesth Gallery.



May it please your Honours

* * * * *

50. It may be proper in this place to say a few words in answer to the 30, 31 and 32 paras. of your commands of the 19th February 1762. To the first, we have only to assure your Honours that it was ever far from our thoughts to put the Company to the expense of the allowance of one thousand rupees a day made to the Shahzada, and to acquaint you the whole charge was borne by the Nabob. To the second, your Honors may observe from the proceedings of the Select Committee and from the whole tenor of our correspondence that we never regarded the expedition to Delhi as an undertaking to be wished for in itself, but only as secondary to the tranquillity of Bengal, that is, that it would be better to join a portion of our force with the Shahadah to conduct him to his capital, than to employ the same force in carrying on a war against him in Bengal. To the third, we hoped that the reasons given in the 68 and 69 paras. of our address of the 16th January 1761 would have been sufficient to satisfy your Honors of the propriety of giving back the Tuncan lands to the Nabob. The sum of those reasons was that the Nabob had a right to claim them, offering other security for the balance, the term of the assignment being expired; and that we had a view of getting Burdwan (by far the most considerable of those lands) ceded to the Company, and which being first cleared from the mortgage or assignment, the old balance to be paid by the Nabob separately, would be so much saved or gained to the Company. We shall only add now that the event has proved the justness of our reasoning and that the Company in effect have gained sixteen laaks of rupees by this measure.

Fifthly of Revenue. 51. In the 73d para. of our general address of last season by the *Hawle*, your Honors are acquainted that Mr. Sumner had settled the Burdwan payment with the Rajah, for the Bengal year 1168, that is, from the 10 April 1761 to the 10 April 1762 at thirty two and a half laaks of Sicca rupees, besides the balance of the year 1167, being about five laaks; and that Mr. Graham was left to attend to the collection after Mr. Sumner's return to Calcutta. We have now the pleasure to acquaint you that the collections were continued with so much success, that at the end of the year the outstanding balances were only as follows. Of the year 1167.....
Rs. 2,61,857-13-6. Of the year 1168.....1,05,291-10.

52. At the beginning of the present year 1169 we thought necessary to send a member of the Board to make a new agreement with the Rajah, and Mr. Johnstone being appointed for that purpose, proceeded accordingly to Burdwan. By the accounts he procured of the state of the country, and its total produce, he brought the Rajah to an agreement for the present year 1169 to pay thirty four laaks of Sicca rupees, besides the balance before

mentioned. To this time the collections are made to our satisfaction, and if nothing happens to interrupt the tranquillity the country now enjoys, we hope yet a further increase may be made in this valuable article of the revenues.

53. Some improvements have also been made in Chittagong and Midnapore, but being but inconsiderable, we refer your Honors to the 74th and 75th paras. of our general address of the 12th Nov. 1761, for the amount of those revenues, and to the proceedings of the Committee of New Lands for the particulars of what alterations have happened.

54. The revenues of the three provinces beforementioned do now amount to forty five laaks of Sicca rupees, making upwards of fifty two laaks of current rupees so that our expectations from these new acquired possessions are already fully answered.

55. In conformity to what we mention'd in the 9th para. of our address of the 8th April 1762, we have kept the Calcutta Pergunnahs in the Company's hands for the present year, excepting Mahgoorah the lease of of which is not yet expired. Every member of the Committee of New Lands has charge of one or more Pergunnahs, for the particulars of which disposition and the informations procured in consequence, upon the several articles mentioned in the aforesaid para. in our address of the 8th April. We beg leave likewise to refer your Honors to the proceedings of the Committee of New Lands.

* * * * *

Supplement. 112. In our address of the 8th April 1762 by the *Godolphin*, we informed you of an enquiry we had before us concerning a packet of letters stopped on the road to Cuttack, and said to be a correspondence between Ramchurn and Comgar Cawn, and in our packet by that ship we transmitted our proceedings at length in the said enquiry. We remarked to your Honors in our said address that several strong circumstances appear'd to give reason to believe that the whole packet was a forgery; fresh circumstances appearing since to confirm to said belief, we enter'd into a further examination of this matter, our proceedings wherein are likewise transmitted in the *Godolphin's* packet. This further examination has fully convinc'd us that the letters were forged, and there is great reason to think that Nundcomar was the contriver thereof with a design of mining Ramchurn. We cannot say there are such direct proofs as to fix the crime upon him with an absolute certainty, nor indeed is it possible there should be positive proofs while he and his moonshey (the only persons suppos'd to be present when the letters were forged) have resolution enough to persist in denying it.

113. The beforemention'd Nundcomar is the same person who was convicted some time ago, of carrying on a correspondence with the Burdwan

Rajah, of a nature inconsistent with his duty and hurtful to your interest: we find also that the same Nundcomar was instrumental in carrying on a correspondence between the Shazadah and the French Governor General before the capture of Pondicherry; this information was given to the President, and by him being laid before the Board was proved by such positive evidence as to leave no room to doubt of the fact: the least we could conclude upon such crimes was, that Nundcomar being a person improper to be trusted with his liberty in your Settlement, and capable of doing mischief if he was permitted to go out of this province, either to the northwards or towards the Deccan, should therefore be kept confined to his own house, under so strict a guard as to prevent his writing or receiving letters.

* * * * *

Your faithful humble servants

P. AMYATT
W. MCGUIRE
W. HAY
H. WATTS.

FORT WILLIAM
30th, October 1762.

An earlier mention of Nanda Kumar is made in the Committee's letter of 23 February 1761.

India office
Records.

We informed your Honours in our last address of the suspicions we had of Roydoolub and Nundecomar's being concerned in a secret correspondence with the Burdawan Rajah and others that were disaffected to the Company and that their persons and papers had been secured. We examined into all their papers, and nothing positive appearing against Roydoolub the guard was taken off from his house. But of Nundecomar's intriguing against the Nabob's and the Company's Government many proofs appeared, and strong suspicion of more from the dark and mysterious terms in which some of the letters are wrote. Translations of the most material papers together with all that passed on his examinations are transmitted to your Honors in a book a part, to which we beg leave to refer you, and as in the present circumstances it is not in Nundecomar's power to do any injury to your affairs, nor can he leave the Settlement if he was so inclined, it being our protection alone that secures him from falling under the displeasure of the Nabob, we have therefore contented ourselves with giving him a caution not to engage for the future in any affairs which do not belong to him.

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WE ARE &CA.

HENRY VANSITTART
P. AMYATT
CULLING SMITH

The following extract from the general letter of the Court of Directors to the President and Council of Fort William is of importance.

13. We have attended to the several informations and proceedings on the subject of the revenues, and from the result of our observations we see reason to flatter ourselves that with care and industry great improvements may be made in the Duannee collections. We find the revenues of the Calcutta lands, as well as of Burdwan, Midnapore and Chittagong, have been considerably augmented, and this increase gives us a sensible pleasure, because we perceive the number of inhabitants have increased at the same time, which we regard as a proof that they have found in those provinces, a better security of their property and relief from oppressions; and it is with particular satisfaction we can attribute these advantages to their being more immediately under the Company's management, and under the constant and minute direction of our covenanted servants. The like abuses which have been corrected in these districts, are still severely felt, through all the Provinces of Bengal and Behar, where the numerous tribes of fozedars, amils, sikdars etc. practice all the various modes of oppression which have been in use as long as the Moorish Government has subsisted. To correct abuses of so long a growth will require much time and industry; and, above all, a patient and moderate exertion of the powers invested in us by the grant of the Dewannee: for we do not mean, by any violent and sudden reform, to change the constitution, but to remove the evil by degrees, by reducing that immense number of idle sycophants, who for their own emolument, and that of their principals, are placed between the tenant and the Public Treasury, and of which every one must get his share of plunder, the whole mass of which must amount to a most enormous sum. Among the various informations we have received on this subject we have particularly attended to Mr. Sykes's letter relating to Dinagepore, entered in your Select Committee's Proceedings of the 10 February 1768. This letter exhibits at one view, a very ample description of the abuses we are speaking of, and which we wish to eradicate.

14. Our intention is to proceed in this work without taking off from any of these profits and emoluments, which have usually accrued to the Zemindars, who have inherited lands from their ancestors, much less to add any thing to the rents to be collected from the tenants; on the contrary we mean to better the condition, both of the one and the other, by relieving them from many oppressions, which they now labour under.

15. But a plan of reformation of so extensive a nature, cannot be effected by one man, it must be the constant attention of many; and for this purpose, we have resolved to establish a Committee of some of our ablest servants, for the management of the Dewannee revenues at Muxadavad,

[Murshidabad] for the Bengal Province, and at Patna, for that of Bahar.

16. The Gentlemen to be so appointed, shall be comptroller for the management of the Duanne revenue under your direction, and they are to have so many other of our junior covenanted servants for assistants, as from time to time may be found necessary to be sent into the several provinces, to correct abuses and maintain the intended reformation.

17. The object of this Council must be first to inform themselves of the real state of the collections in every part, that is to say, what rents are at this time actually paid by the tenants, and what was paid formerly, what is the nature of the cultivation, and what the chief produce of each district; and whether, in that respect, there seems a prospect of improvement. They are next to inform themselves of the amount of the charges of collection for some years past, in as particular a manner as possible; and you are then to judge how many of the amils and other officers, among whom those immense sums have been divided, may be spared. This saving, as far as it can reasonably be carried out, at the same time that it will be a profit to the Company in point of revenue, will likewise be a relief to the tenant, for it cannot be doubted but that these numerous instruments of power lay the inhabitants under contribution in various secret ways, over and above what appears upon the face of the accounts.

18. In this reformation you are to proceed with a moderate, steady and persevering spirit of enquiry, looking rather to the prevention of frauds for the future, than to the punishment of those offences which have already passed, and which, if not justified, are at least much palliated by the immemorial custom of the Moorish Government.

19. The Council so to be appointed at Moorshedabad and Patna, are to have the control of all the business relating to the revenue, but Mahamud Reza Cawn or some other principal person of the country must be appointed Naib Duan for the Bengal Province (that is, the Company's Deputy) and all the business must be carried on through the Naib and under his seal and signing, and in like manner Shitabroy or some other principal person at Patna for the Bahar Province.

20. The Council of Revenue are to sit daily or as often as may be necessary for the most minute attention to this important branch of business. The Naib is to give his advice and opinion upon the measures necessary to be taken, the officers and collectors requisite to be sent to the different districts, and the orders and powers to be given them, but the Council are to consider and determine the whole and no appointments are to be made, nor the Naib's seal put to any orders, without their approbation, and copies of all such orders and appointments are to be entered upon their diary or a book apart, and to be transmitted regularly to England.

22. We have said in a former part of this letter that we have no view to prejudice the rights of the Zemindars, who hold certain districts by inheritance, but when any of these die without heirs, the lands are to be let for a term of years and upon such conditions as may encourage improvements in the cultivation. In like manner where lands lie waste you should propose terms for settling them giving the undertakers every advantage possible to enable them to proceed in a work so beneficial to the community in general and yielding to the Company in process of time a certain increase of revenue.

22. To sum up the whole of this subject in few words:—our meaning is to save what we can of the long salaries now paid to idle dependents appointed to nominal but useless offices by the Country Government, and to lead you to such a knowledge of the real state of the rents and cultivation of the several districts as may enable you to keep the tenants free from imposition and extortion, and to give every possible encouragement to the husbandman and the manufacturer.

23. The annual reduction of the coin is certainly one great source of oppression, for it puts it into the power of the collector to charge the tenant with what discount he pleases upon all the money collected under pretence that the rupees are of a former date, although equal in weight and fineness. But having wrote you fully on this subject the 11th November last we refer you to those directions and hope that you have succeeded in your endeavours to reform this arbitrary practice.

24. In answer to what we wrote you in our letter of the 16th March 1768 concerning laws of inheritance for the better security of private property, you refer us to a report from Mr. Sykes and the Ministers at Murshedabad, and we find from Mr. Sykes' letter (entered upon your Select Committee Proceedings of the 6th October 1768) that he has not been acquainted with any instances of the estates of deceased persons being seized by the Government, but that whatever confiscations of this nature or other fines may have accrued are brought to the public account, and are a part of the revenue let out under the title of the Fouzdar of Murshedabad.

25. We apprehend this to be a revenue of a very dangerous nature; for, if the decision of the Fouzdar against the estate and property of individuals are to bring profit to himself, it may fairly be supposed that his judgment will be biassed by self-interest.

26. What we wrote you on this subject in our letter of the 16 March 1768 we particularly intended to lead to a reform of that practice, which we understood prevailed under the Moorish Government, of confiscating to the Nabob's use the whole estate of deceased persons who had at any time been employed in the service of the Government, which practice we

suppose had its original in this sort of reasoning—that as these officers during their administration did certainly abuse their trust and make their fortunes out of the public money, so it was just that the Government should take it again at their death.

27. But as this custom, as far as it prevails, must be productive of various acts of injustice and oppression, and must naturally occasion money to be hoarded and secreted in such manner as perhaps never to be brought again to light, to the great detriment of the general interest of the community, we therefore wished the practice to be totally abolished and the whole country to be acquainted by public advertisement that no man's property is to be touched without due course of law, that where any man is detected and convicted of defrauding the public he shall be punished severely and obliged to make ample reparation, but that this should not be attempted by the arbitrary will of any minister.

28. Such an assurance might, we hope, be the means of opening some hoards of money and thereby assisting the currency of the country.

29. Before we close this subject, we cannot help remarking that [there] seems to us to be great danger and impropriety in having the powers of revenue and the powers of justice in one and the same person, which seems to be the case in the officers of the Fouzedary, and, as we apprehend, in most other of the public offices of the several districts. This will be an object worthy of further enquiry and if the case is as it appears to us those powers should be separated and distinct lines drawn.

* * * * *

35. The vast increase of charges in every department is another object requiring extraordinary powers of reformation, and the establishment of a better mode of collecting the Duamur revenues no less so, not only as it immediately affects the Company's interest, but as being essential to the ease and happiness of the people, the security of their property, and the consequent encouragement of cultivation and manufactures.

36. The directions we have hitherto given upon these important points have produced in return many arguments but few effects, and as by this mode of proceeding we may never be able to establish the necessary regulations, we have resolved to appoint Commissioners to proceed to India to carry out orders into execution without loss of time.

37. We have accordingly appointed Henry Vansittart, Luke Sraffen and Francis Forde, Esqrs. to be our Commissioners for the said purpose with powers as expressed more fully in their Commission which will be notified to you upon their arrival. But that you may be acquainted in general with the nature of it, you are to understand that the government of

all the Settlements is left in its usual course and channel, but the Commissioners have a superintending and controuling power over the whole in like manner as if we the Court of Directors were ourselves present upon the spot; and they are to proceed from Presidency to Presidency to make the desired orders and regulations. They will advise with you so far as they judge necessary upon the several matters which they shall be instructed or shall think fit to take under their consideration; and, as they are fully acquainted with our sentiments upon every subject, they will explain more particularly our designs and wishes, which we are persuaded you will adopt upon conviction, without putting them to the necessity of making use of the authority with which they are invested.

38. The union of interests between the Nation and the Company by the participation of revenues under the present agreement with the Government having made us in some measure responsible to the public for our conduct, it became necessary that His Majesty should be informed of our intention in appointing this extraordinary Commission, and we have had the satisfaction of receiving the Royal approbation with a strong recommendation to pursue every measure for the reform of abuses and the due management of the important interests which we have in charge in the several parts of India.

We are

Your loving Friends

C. Colebrooke

[and 18 other signatures]

LONDON,
the 30th June, 1779.

The following letter is of very considerable historical importance.

8th Sept. 1770.

To the Honble. the Court of Directors for Affairs of the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies.

Honble. Sirs,

* * * * *

3. In the month of March last we were informed by the Gentlemen at Madras, that His Majesty's Ship the *Stag* commanded by Sir John Lindsay arrived at Anjengo in February, and that the *Aurora* with the Commissioners on Board left the Cape of Good Hope the latter end of December, a few days before the *Stag*.

4. From the day we received this intelligence we have been held in anxious expectation of hearing further news of the *Aurora*, but it is with the utmost concern we are now to acquaint you that to this hour we have

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† The loss of the *Aurora* has been referred to on several occasions in *Bengal Past & Present*.

not heard the least account of her, although advices have been received from every part of India.

5. Her long absence hath at last damped every hope, and wearied out every expectation. We had flattered ourselves that she might have been obliged to go to Bencoolen, to Batavia, to some of the Islands Eastward of Madagascar, or to put back to the Cape. But we have received advices from all these places and nothing has been heard of her, in short so many months have now elapsed since her departure from the Cape, that there is not a probability of her safety, and it is almost beyond a doubt that some fatal accident hath befallen her.

6. It is on this account and for the sake of rendering you as early advices as possible of the present state of your affairs here: that we have resolved on dispatching the *Lapwing* to England.

7. The constant expectation in which we have been kept of the arrival of the Commissioners who you informed us were to proceed on the *Aurora* frigate with ample instructions and powers to enforce all your commands and to whom all your intentions of reform and amendment were confided influenced us to await their arrival, before we proceeded to execute the orders we received from you by the *Lapwing*.*

8. But when such a length of time as six months had elapsed without any intelligence of the Commissioners, and we could no longer entertain expectations of their arrival, we thought a further delay would be improper, and therefore resolved to consider the interesting object to which you had directed our attention. The motion made to this end and concurred to appears on the Proceedings of the Board the 19th June. The words are to this effect *resolved* to take into consideration on Wednesday next the 27th instant the orders of the Honble. Court of Directors in their General Letter of the 30th June 1769 per *Lapwing* &c. &c.*

9. On this motion and resolution* a Select Committee was convened the next morning purposely to discuss and to judge the Proceedings of your President and Council and we were favored at our next meeting with the following opinion. "The motion* made and approved by the Board to take into consideration the Honble. Company's Orders on the subject of "Dewanny Revenues is an infringement of the rights of the Select Committee, and an innovation subversive of the powers delegated to that Board by the General Letter of January 1768. The line there drawn is clear and explicit, the Select Committee only have the power of taking cognizance of orders which relate to the revenues: The Board can neither deliberate upon nor execute any measure that may effect the "Dewanny, and warning the Council not to pass the line between the two departments, protest against the Board's resolution for taking into

(a) Proceedings of 3rd July Mr. Reid's Minute do. of the 3rd & 24 July Mr. Barnwell's Minute. The last expressly says the Council not choosing the disagreeable task of opposing the known sense of the Gentlemen of the Socy. Cambr. who previously had determined not to execute the orders per *Lapwing* waited the arrival of the Commissioners.

(b) The Commissioners left the Cape of Good Hope the 23rd December 1769 and the motion was made the 19 June 1770.

(c) Ext. of the S. C. Proceedings of the 21 June enter'd in Conn. of the 27th. Supported by a Question the 27—whether the Protest against the Board does not preclude the opinions of the Members of the Board on the Subject of the Company's Orders per *Lapwing*—supported by another Question, whether the Company's General Letter of Jan. 68 is not in force.

(d) Proceedings of the Council 27 June: opinions of the Genm. of S. C. on several Questions proposed.

On 1st Question. Mr. Russell—the Board not responsible for the execution of orders that relate to the dewannies. Mr. Floyer the same opinion. The Governor the same.

On 2nd Question. Mr. Floyer: because orders are given to the Gov. & Co. in which the S. C. is included, it is not a contradiction to suppose those orders are to be executed by the S. C. independent of the Co. Mr. Russell: this Question is answered by the Board: the orders of

Jan. '68 are not repealed—the Govt. coincides with Mr. F. & R.

On 3rd Question.

Mr. Russell and Select Comm., opinion—to confine themselves to the Company's express Commands (not to judge what is their intention and to act conformably for their interests).

On 4th Question.

Who is to execute the orders of the Company to the Govt. and Co. Mr. F. replied a Council and Committee is appointed by the Court of Directors to execute their orders. Mr. R. orders to relate to the Board the Board orders, that relate to the Commes, the Commes. The Governor the same. Objected as insufficient and indirect. Judged sufficient by the Board.

On 5th Question.

Mr. F. the Genl. supervising power is divided between the Commes. and the Council. It is withdrawn from the Select Commes. inasmuch as it is not given to the Board.

Mr. Russell—a general Supervising power is in the Board but the S. C. hold an authority independent of the Board. The Govt. adopts Mr. F's opinion.

On 6th Question.

Mr. F. denies the Bd. or Commes. Power to execute the Company's orders per *Lapwing*, alleging it the Province of the Commissioners, only of the Commissioners, that shd. the Commissioners not arrive and the Commes. shd. resolve the Company's Regulations proper to be executed—that then the Board may appoint Councils of Revision.

(6) Comm. 27 June. Mr. Barwell's Minute. Mr. Bell's &c. declarations expressly disclaim any design to annul the Powers of the Select Committee.

(7) Comm. 27 June. Question relative to the trust reposed in the Council, and how far responsibility for the execution of orders addressed to that Council by the Honble. Co.

(8) Consultation 27th June.

"consideration your commands per *Lapwing*, and what might be thought necessary for accomplishing those commands."

10. In support of these sentiments which condemn the Board for a deference shewn to your orders, and to justify a protest against measures that might be taken, not against measures that had been taken, the Gentlemen of the Select Committee insist that their Board is vested with an authority not subject to the controul of the Council at large, that all orders respecting the revenue tho' addressed to the Board the Select Committee alone are responsible for, and that the Committee, and not the Council, are to judge when, how, or if ever those Orders are to be executed, that the Orders by the *Lapwing* are not to the Council but to the Commissioners, that neither the Council or the Committee are authorized to enforce them and therefore they cannot be executed either by the Board or Committee but by the Commissioners only."

11. Upon a reference to our Proceedings of June, July and August you will find the several arguments urged and objections made by the Gentlemen of the Select Committee to be such as are comprized in the abstract we have here given you of their sentiments.

12. We shall now proceed to present to you our thoughts on the points touched upon above, and on the various questions that have arisen from the unexpected difficulties in which we found ourselves involved when prosecuting your commands.

13. Before we entered on a discussion of the matter proposed the 19th of June, we thought it in no respect unbecoming in us to remove the false alarm taken at an intention attributed to us to question and to supersede the powers of the Select Committee, and as we had no such design we did not scruple by the most positive assurances to the contrary to attempt to rectify this mistaken notion and to remove a jealousy from which sprung so unjust a surmise.

14. We further deemed it essential to obviate every argument that might oppose the execution of your orders and to acquit ourselves fully of the duty we owed to you, the sense of the Council at large with respect to the trust reposed in that Council became necessary for our guidance.

15. The opinions of the several Members import as follows:—

"Resolved" no objections made by the Select Committee or protest entered can affect the debates of the Council on any point whatsoever or preclude the Members of the Board giving their opinions on matters that concern the Honble. the Company's interest. It is a contradiction to suppose, because orders are given to the President and Council in which the Select Committee is included, that those orders are to be executed by the Select Committee independent of the Council."

"The Board is to act consonant to the intentions of the Honble. Company and to adopt all measures that may appear conducive to the Company's interests. There is no difference between positive commands for particular measure or measures recommended, it is the duty of the Council to fulfil the expectations of the Honble. Company and not to except to the mode in which those are expressed. Orders given by the Honble. Company to the President and Council to be executed by the President and Council.

"The Honble. Company having been pleased to withdraw the General Supervising Power entrusted for a purpose to the Select Committee, it is in consequence restored to the President and Council.

"It appears evidently to be the meaning of the Honble. Court of Directors in their General Letter per *Lapsing* that Councils of Revenue to Muxadavid and Patna should be appointed by the President and Council and be under their orders.

"All Matters submitted to the judgment of the President and Council are to be determined by a majority of voices."

16. Agreeably thereto we have acted, ^a and to evince how little we have been concerned in a contest for power, we need only observe to you we have confined ourselves merely to the execution of your positive orders to us by the *Lapsing* and that in no respect whatever have we interfered in the province of the Select Committee.

17. We have said that a General Supervising Power is certainly placed in the Council, because the General Supervising Power conferred on Lord Clive and the Select Committee is expressly withdrawn.

18. Your Administration ^b here cannot act without a Supervising Power being placed somewhere in the Government, it surely then is no forced supposition to say the withdrawing it from the Committee restored it to the Council at large where you have always confided it, except on extraordinary occasions, when you have directed it to be exercised by servants particularly selected for that purpose.

19. You will possibly be dissatisfied after this explicit declaration ^c of our sentiments, that we did not exert the authority we conceived to be reposed in us, but when you please to consider what has occurred in the course of the debate and the objections we encountered before we could execute your commands by the *Lapsing*, you will, we hope, approve our moderation in having determined not to use our General Supervising Authority unless obliged to it for the security of your interests.

20. Our Consultations ^d will point out to you that the Proceedings of your Select Committee are not laid before the Board for approval but for the information of the several Members, and indeed when it is remarked how long a space of time elapses from the day on which the Select Committee

(b) Vide Proceedings of the 2nd, 6th, 17 & 24 July and 2nd August contain'd mostly to the orders per *Lapsing*.

(c) Mr. Ridd's & Mr. Barwell's Sentiments (3rd July & opinions of Council the 27 June. Mr. Hume 6 July Mr. Jekyll Dec.) in further support of the opinion of the Majority.

(d) Proceedings 21 June & subsequent opinions on the several Questions all tending to preclude the Council's Sentiments on the *Lapsing's* Letter.

(e) Council 27 June. Govr. in his last Minute says the Bd. has not a Supervising Power. To the 5th Question Mr. Pleyer says there is no General Supervising Power but that a Council and Council have the direction of the Company's Affairs. Mr. Russell says the Council have the General Supervising and that the Sel. Commtee have the Independent Power.

(m) Consults. 24 July.
The Govt. acquaints the Bd. with part of the S. Commn. Proceedings are merely for the information of the Members of the Board.

(n) Consults. 24 July.
—Read S. Commn. proceedings of the 9 June. Appointment of the 4 Supervisors to Bahar approved. No Remark on the S. Commn. annulling first the Powers given by the Bd. to the Supervisors in Bengal and then asking the Council's concurrence.

(v) Vide Note d.

* Consults. 24 July
Mr. B's Minute.

resolutions* are taken and the day on which they are presented to us, it will appear evident that few or none of their measures can have been concurred to by the Board.

21. We are under a necessity* of mentioning this circumstance that we may not be deemed deserving of your censure for acts in which we do not participate and for measures we do not approve. Our silence on this subject has proceeded from our desire to avoid debate and the impossibility of rejecting what has been done.

22. The Gentlemen of the Select Committee* have been pleased to insist that your orders by the *Lapwing* are not to be executed by the Board or by the Committee but by the Commissioners only. We need but refer you to our letter of the 31st January last to point out the great change of opinion (since the Members of your Select Committee who were then the majority at the Board became the minority) the deferring the execution of your orders is there made the act of the Board—and here it is insisted that your Council are in no respect concerned in the enforcing or not enforcing of those orders.

23. Sense of duty influenced us to attend to the execution of the plan* you had dictated for the better regulating the collections of the Dewanny revenue, and we humbly submit our conduct and the means we have used to effect the end, to your candid decision; and further we humbly request when you judge our Proceedings and the Proceedings of the Select Committee, that you will be pleased to keep in mind that the contest on our side was in order to answer your expectation and that the independent and exclusive power contended for by Messrs. Russell and Floyer was not in order to fulfill your wishes but to judge their propriety and to controul the execution of the orders addressed to us.

24. Conformably to your commands, we have appointed Councils of Revenue at Muxadavad and Patna, and this resolution accordingly took place the first instant. The Gentlemen so appointed are:—

At Muxadavad:—

Messrs. Becher.

Reed,

Lawrell.

Graham.

At Patna:—

Messrs. Alexander.

Vansittart.

Palk.

25. Instructions with which they are furnished are taken entirely from your orders, and we have conformed strictly to what we judge the spirit of your intentions in these new appointments.

26. We have recapitulated what particularly relates to the execution of your commands per *Lapwing*, and we shall conclude this representation of facts by a quotation from Mr Russell's Minute* entered in the Pro-

(p) Extract of the S. Commn. Proceedings, 21 June in Consn. the 27 June.

ceedings of the Select Committee 21st June (Mr. Floyer's arguments have the same tendency). In the 7 para. he says "previous to the Board's "entering on the discussion, I think the Committee ought "to remonstrate and warn them of the evil tendency of an "attempt to lessen the powers of the Committee which a "regard to the Committee and their own honor can never "suffer them to yield up to the Board."* It is thus he interprets the resolution of Council to deliberate on your letter by the *Lapwing*, but whether by such reasoning which confounds the just distinction that ought to have been made between a discussion of the powers of the Select Committee and an opinion to be given on the propriety of enforcing your regulations, he means to preclude the members of the Council delivering their sentiments on the necessity for following your directions, we must submit to your judgment.

27. We absolutely disavow† the intention attributed to us to annul the authority of the Select Committee or to dispute about the powers of the Board, and we flatter ourselves our Proceedings will justify us to you, and evince that we do not merit this unkind aspersion. It was not till the last necessity, as you may easily discern, that we opposed the known sense of the Gentlemen of the Select Committee. The Commissioners you had appointed not arriving reduced us to this dilemma—either to risk your displeasure by continuing in appearance to adopt the sentiments of the Committee; or to draw upon ourselves what we have incurred by an attempt to execute your orders for the better regulating the collections of the Dewannee.

28. It is needless to acquaint you‡ with that reluctance we gave umbrage to the Gentlemen of the Select Committee or how very little we have been inclined to contend for power. You will on the contrary observe the Select Committee, without consulting us, have not scrupled to frustrate our intentions in the appointment of Supervisors (to inspect the conduct of the officers of the Government and to superintend the collecting the revenues through the whole country) the authority we had given them in order to effect the most salutary ends you will find annulled by the Committee in their Proceedings of 21st June; and what appears most extraordinary, after the Committee had refuted every argument that could be urged for annulling the powers of our Supervisors, they approve the proposition made to them, and without any new lights or new arguments appearing in opposition to their just objections, determine the supervising plan shall be partial and their own objections in consequence be overruled, of this you will find no particular notice taken by us, but when we determined to execute your commands you will observe by our instructions to the Councils of Revenue what would have been our sentiments had we been consulted on the propriety of revoking that authority we gave to the Supervisors.

* Supported by many Opinions & by two Questions. Vide Note C.

† Refer to Note c.

‡ Refer to Note a. & to Note b. & to Note c.

29. It is not in our power to give you any satisfactory information regarding the Dewannee Revenues for the last year, as we are not furnished with the necessary materials, and we must therefore leave this subject to be treated on by the Gentlemen of the Select Committee.

30. From Settlements of your Revenues with which the Select Committee have furnished us, we have formed a calculation of our receipts and disbursements from April 1770 to April 1771 and as this calculation will give you the clearest idea of your resources in this country and of the unavoidable expenses you must be put to, whilst you have so large an establishment of Civil and Military Servants to maintain, we have sent it a number in this packet.

31. In this situation of affairs you will plainly perceive, Gentlemen, the impossibility of our sending you home such large investments as you have received; and from our present prospects, we are of opinion that we shall find a difficulty in providing an investment for the next year even of forty-five Lacks without being able to afford a single Rupee for China.

* * * * *

34. We have in a former part of this letter informed you that we think it almost beyond a doubt some fatal accident hath befallen the *Aurora*, and as by your having referred all subjects of consequence to the Commissioners it is a probable conjecture that those may be touched upon in this packet, and it may contain those plans of alteration, amendment and improvement for the execution of which the Commissioners were appointed. We were of opinion it would conduce more to your benefit if we were to open this packet and, by the lights and information it might afford us, endeavor, so far as our power and authority extends, to carry into practice your designs for the interest of the Company than if we were to return the packet to you unopened and unperused.

35. But it being considered that by some of the ships of this season not yet arrived you may have sent orders relative to your packets directed to those Commissioners, on the supposition of some accident befalling them, we consulted whether the packet directed to the Commissioners should be immediately opened or whether we should defer it until the arrival of the latter ships and it was agreed by the majority of the Board that it should not be opened until the latter ships arrive.

We are &c.

FORT WILLIAM

Claude Russell.

the 8th September, 1770.

&c. &c. &c.

It has been suggested that the following inscription should be placed on the walls of St. John's Church. I have asked Mr. W. Foster of the India Office Records Department to furnish the dates of the deaths of Stackhouse,

Forster and Fytche. Stackhouse lived in Calcutta for several years after his dismissal. The cost of such a memorial if really well done, with the inscription relief from sunk ground (brass) would amount to about £30. I suppose it would be an indignity to erect a cheap engraved brass tablet to the memory of persons so eminent as Governors of Fort William—to whom His Excellency the Viceroy stands in the line of succession.

CLOSE TO THIS CHURCH
are interred

The Mortal Remains of the following
Presidents and Governors of Fort William in Bengal :

ROBERT HEDGES,

(Nephew of Sir William Hedges, First Governor
in the Bay of Bengal),

Assumed office, December 3rd, 1713.

Died, December 28th, 1717.

HENRY FRANKLAND,

(Great-Grandson of the Lord Protector,
Oliver Cromwell),

Assumed office, January 30th, 1726,

Died, August 23rd, 1728.

JOHN STACKHOUSE,

Governor, February 25th, 1732,

Buried, September 28th, 1741.

JOHN FORSTER,

Assumed office, February 4th, 1746,

Buried, March 27th, 1748.

WILLIAM FYTCHE,

Assumed office, July 5th, 1752,

Died, August 8th, 1752.

WALTER K. FIRMINGER.

Review.

THE ENGLISH FACTORIES IN INDIA, 1651-1654. A CALENDAR OF DOCUMENTS IN THE INDIA OFFICE WESTMINSTER. BY WILLIAM FOSTER, C. I. E. OXFORD 1915.

WE welcome a further instalment of Mr. Foster's great work. The present volume scarcely brings us beyond the threshold of the history of the English in Bengal, but the references to the Balasore factory show that the research is getting hot on the scent of the pioneers in our own part of northern India. A letter of Paul Waldegrave at Balasore to President Blackman at Surat, August 17, 1653, refers to the death of Gabriel Boughton, who "under the notion of the Companies servant" had been trading at "Puttanah." The quarrels of the Company's servants occupy a rather large and vivid place in the records. It would seem that the most successful method of casting obloquy on an enemy was to charge him with obscene language and heterodox opinions. We meet with a gentleman, who by way of establishing his own innocence, charges his accuser with the awful "blasphemy" "as the Presbyterians had taken away the King and the Bishops, and the Independents had taken away the Presbyterians, hoped the Devil would take away the Independents." President Baker confesses that he makes "it his daily prayer to be delivered from the envy, hatred and malice, and from the most notorious uncharitableableness of old John Leigh" *i. e.* the man who was so scandalised by Captain Martin's wish for an end to the Independents. The period covered by the present volume is practically that of the War between England and Holland, during the course of which the prestige of the English, owing to the superiority of the Dutch sea power, suffered not much.

The Bandel and Chinsura Church Registers. (1757-1913).

INTRODUCTION.

THE notes from which this article is compiled were taken during a week's stay at Bandel (January 4-11, 1914). My chief occupation consisted in studying the registers; but, exploring the Monastery and the Church, copying inscriptions, and digging for the foundations of the old Jesuit "College" in the São Paulo garden about 20 minutes away, formed some of my diversions.¹

My notes on the Bandel and Chinsura Registers need no introduction. The different parts explain themselves. We have not introduced into them any matter not derived from Church Registers, both because it is interesting to note how much information these Registers can supply by themselves, and chiefly because, as our other historical notes are now in Brussels, whence, owing to the war, it is impossible to reclaim them, we feel no inclination to go over ground already covered.

This article is my second instalment towards a catalogue of some 600 Catholic Missionaries who laboured in Bengal from 1572 to 1860, or thereabout.

CH. I.—DESCRIPTION OF THE REGISTERS.

Vol. 1.—Baptisms. (Apr. 10, 1757—Oct. 1865) Bandel.

Bound in card-board. Outside, a small paper with "Livro do Registo Parochial dos Baptismos de Bandel de 1757 a 1865."

On p. 1^r (unnumbered): "† Book of the Baptised of this Parish of Our Lady of the Rosary of Bandel of Vgoly, made in the beginning of the month of April of 1757, after the plundering of this Church by the

1. Cf. *Bengal: Past & Present*, 1915, Vol. X, pp. 37-130.

2. The first instalment is contained in my brochure on *The Registers & Inscriptions of the Church of Our Lady of Delwari, Balisathana, Calcutta (1810-1914)*, Calcutta, Catholic Orphan Press, 1915, pp. 52.

Moor. [*In another handwriting:*] It counts four hundred and twenty six leaves (426) from the second leaf to the last. Fr[ei] Bento; Prior (426)."¹

The word "leaf" is used in the sense of "page", for the leaves are numbered on both sides, from 1 to 420. The rest must have disappeared. As it is, the book is blank after p. 260.

In very good condition; 30.5 x 10.8 cm.—PP. 4 to 13 are blank. The entries of 1757 refer to months 4, 5, 6, 7, 9 only, after which there is the gap from p. 4 to p. 13, and then the entries start again from 1761 (January). There are no entries, therefore, for 1758, 1759, 1760. It would seem that they were to have been recopied from some provisional register, and that this work was not done.

Vol. 2.—Baptisms. (Oct. 16, 1798—Sept. 1879.) Chinsura.

PP. 296 not counting the first and last; the leaves are numbered on both sides; 37.8 x 21 cm. In good condition. PP. 98, 99, 200, 202—281, 283—296 are blank.

At p. 1 (unnumbered): "This book is to contain the entries of the Baptisms of this Church of J[esus] M[ary] J[oseph] at Chinsurah. It was begun on the sixteenth of October of the year 1798.—Fr. Manoel do Rosario."²

At p. 297 (unnumbered): "This book, which serves for the entries of the Baptisms of the Church of Chinsurah, contains one hundred and forty eight half-leaves, not counting the first and the one which contains this note. Chinsurah, 16th October, 1798.—Fr. M^o do Rosario."²

"For want of another book, which was not given (*que não se deu*), [this book] from leaf [=page] 281 also serves for noting the entries of burials. Chinsurah, 7 October 1868.—Fr. Lazaro Fortunato de Souza."²

At p. 281 there is one burial of Oct. 1868, one of Febr. and one of April 1869, one of June and one of Dec. 1872, one of Jan. 1873, and one of May 1874. All signed by Fr. Lazaro Fortunato de Souza.

Vol. 3.—Burials. (July 8, 1793—Sep. 7, 1866). Bandel & Chinsura.

Foll. 140 numbered on the rectos only; 37.5 x 24 cm.

In very good condition. The volume is marked "8" on the back.

1. "Livro dos Baptizados desta Freguesia de N. Senhora do Rosario / de Bandel de Vgolyu, feito no principio de [sic] mez de Abril de 1757 / da pois de [sic] roubu desta Igreja (feito por Mouro. Contem da / segunda folha ateh a ultima em quatro centas e vinte e seis folhas (426). Fr. Bento Prior (426)."

2. Translated from the Portuguese.

It is one of a series of registers in the Convent Archives, 11 of which I examined. On a piece of white paper on the cover: "Livro do registo parochial dos obitos de Bandel de 1793 a 1866."

On the recto of an unnumbered leaf in the beginning: "Let the Reverend Father Fr[ei] Antonio de S. Joze paginate this book, which is to serve for entering [the names of] those who die, and are buried in this Church of Our Lady of the Rosary of Bandel of Ugolim. On the 31st of August of 1793.—Fr. Francisco de Santa Maria, Prior."¹

On the recto of an unnumbered leaf after fol. 140: "In compliance with the order of the Very Rev. Father Fr[ei] Francisco de S. Maria, Prior of the Convent of O. L. of the Rosary of Bandel, I numbered this book, which is to serve for entering [the names of] those who happen to die and be buried in the Church of the said Convent, and I found it contained 140 leaves, not counting the order in the beginning and this [leaf] which contains this statement. In truth whereof I made this attestation and subscribed myself. Chinsura Church, 2nd of September 1793.—Fr. Antonio de S. Jose."¹

Vol. 4. Marriages. (May 5, 1757—Oct. 5, 1865). Bandel & Chinsura.

PP. 453 numbered on both sides of the leaves; 30.8 x 20 cm.

In very good condition. PP. 156-453 are blank; pp. 25 & 26, with entries after Febr. 9, 1766 and before March 2, 1767, are missing. Four entries of 1772 are illegible, owing to the corrosive action of the ink.

At fol. 1 (unnumbered): "† Livro dos Casamentos desta Freguezia de N. Senhora do Rozario de [sic] Bandel de Ugolym, feito no principio de [sic] mez de Abril de 1757, depois de [sic] roubo desta Igreja feito por Mouro."

This is the second reference to the robbing or destruction of the earlier registers.

Of what use, however, could these books have been to the Muhammadans then marching back from Calcutta to Murshidabad where they had signalized themselves by the horrors of the Black Hole tragedy? Did they destroy for the wanton pleasure of destroying, or is there any chance that the books were carried to Murshidabad and preserved? We may gather from the fate which befell the registers that the Convent and the Church of Bandel must have suffered too at the hands of the "Moor."

The register contains entries of marriages for Bandel and Chinsura. I thought at first of separating the entries of the two places; but, as in many

1. Translated from the Portuguese.

cases it was not shown where the marriage was performed, I had to abandon my attempt.

Here is an instance of a marriage entry, the first of all (p. 1):

"Aos 15 dias de Mayo de 1757. na Ermida de Menino Jesus de Chenssura Perante O M. R. P.e Prior Fr. Manoel da Assumpção, recebeu Simão do R.o f.o de Paulo do R.o e de Suzana do R.o, com Ellena da Costa, f.a de Luis do R.o [sic], e de Sabina do R.o, ambas naturais de Chensura, tendosse publicado os tres banhos, e feito o mais q requerer a Igreja, e tendo os contrahentes prim.o apresentado as test.as da parte do Noyvo a Pedro Tavares, e Franc.o Xavier ambos cazados, e moradores em Chenssura, e por parte da Noyva a Fran.co da Fonc.a, cazado, e João Tavares soltr.o, ambos moradores em Chenssura, em fe do q se fez este assente, e eu Franc.o da Esper.ca-escrivão desta Igreja, q o escrevy."

(Translation): "On the 15th of May of 1757, in the Hermitage of the Infant Jesus of Chenssura, before the Very Rev. Father Prior Frei Manoel da Assumpção, Simão do Rozario, son of Paulo do Rozario and Suzana do Rozario, was married with Ellena da Costa, daughter of Luis do Rozario [da Costa?] and Sabina do Rozario [da Costa, née do Rozario?] both born at Chenssura, the three banns having been published, and whatever else the Church enjoins being done, and the two parties having first presented their witnesses, Pedro Tavares and Francisco Xavier, both married and residing at Chenssura, on the part of the Bridegroom, and Francisco da Fonseca, a married man, and João Tavares, a bachelor, both residing at Chenssura, on the part of the Bride. In truth whereof this entry was made, and [it is] I, Francisco da Esperança, scrivener of this church, who wrote it."

It requires some practice to get through the lavish use of abbreviations of which our Portuguese extract is quite a tolerable specimen. The work of the scrivener, Francisco da Esperança, can be followed up to Febr. 9, 1766.

When any of the Prior's Coadjutors, or Priests passing through Bandel celebrates a marriage, the formula generally states: " . . . by commission of" To note down in my tables the names of both would have complicated matters considerably; hence, I took only the name of the celebrant, and noted as much as possible, the duration in office of the different Priors.

Vol. 5 Marriages. (July 20, 1821—Sept. 11, 1866). Chinsura.

Foll. 58 numbered on the rectos; 36.5 x 24.5 cm. In good condition.

At fol. 1 (numbered): "Este livro serve p.a nelle se lançar os termos dos Casamentos feito nesta Igreja de Jesus Maria Joze de Chinxura, rubricado

p mim abaixo assignado. Igreja Romana de Jesus Maria Joze de Chinxura, 10. de Fevereiro de 1821.—*Fr. Luis de S.ta Rita, Vigr.o.*"

Translation: "This book is used to write in it the entries of the marriages celebrated in this Church of Jesus Maria Joze at Chinxura, [and was] "rubricated" [=paginated] by me, the undersigned"

At fol. 58, Frei Luis de S. Rita certifies on Febr. 12, 1821, that the register contains foll. 58, including the first and last, which contain his declarations.

We may note here that the Church was dedicated to Jesus, Mary, Joseph, or the Holy Family, while the Hermitage attached, a small two-storeyed house, was dedicated to the Infant Jesus (*o Menino Jesus*). The house was, no doubt, called a Hermitage, because its occupants were Hermits of St. Augustine. Being a smaller place, it was affiliated to the Convent of Bandel.

After Sept. 11, 1866, the marriage returns for Chinsura will be found in the Bandel registers.

Vol. 6. Baptisms. (May 6, 1866—Nov. 21, 1905). Bandel & Chinsura.

"Livro do Registo Parochial dos baptismos de Bandel desde 1866."

PP. 314 numbered by John Thomas, the vestry clerk of the Church of O. L. of the Rosary, Bandel. The book was closed at p. 165. (32 x 20 cm.).

From 1869, when the last Augustinian Prior died and Father Alexander Carlos Rodrigues became Prior, the entries were made in English, in accordance with the directions left by the Archbishop Primate of Goa at his visit in 1866.

The baptisms of Chinsura after Sept. 1879, when the last resident priest disappears from Chinsura, will be found in this register.

Vol. 7. Baptisms. (1906—). Bandel & Chinsura.

A large volume with printed directions to be filled in. Probably issued by the Catholic Orphan Press, 3 & 4, Portuguese Church Street, Calcutta. The pages are not numbered; it is more convenient to number the entries. One third full. (38 x 25 cm.)

Vol. 8. Burials. (1867—). Bandel & Chinsura.

"Livro de Registo parochial dos obitos de Bandel desde 1867," on a piece of white paper on the cover. The volume is marked No. 10.

PP. 330, numbered by the clerk, P. A. D' Cruz. (31.5 x 20.5 cm.)

The entries from 1867 to 1876 were recopied by the Prior, Alex. Carlos Rodrigues, from a register damaged by white ants. From 1869, *i.e.*, after the death of the last Augustinian Prior, the entries are in English.

Vol. 9. Marriages. (June 15, 1867—Febr. 23, 1876). *Bandel & Chinsura.*

On the cover: "Livro do registo dos casamentos de Bandel de 1867 a 1876, e um casamento do anno 1892. É notas das diligencias matrimoniaes desde 1898."

Foll. 93, numbered on the rectos only by Padre Diogo Lourenço de S. Maria. (32 x 20 cm). Foll. 11, 12, 13v—93 are blank. The "diligencias feitas por occasião dos Matrimonios" are by the Prior, Father M. V. Rodrigues (Aug. 17, 1898—Nov. 25, 1903).

At fol. 13, a promise by——of Bombay (March 10, 1912) not to interfere with his wife's religion.

Vol. 10. Marriages. (June 15, 1867—Oct. 17, 1905). *Bandel & Chinsura.*

PP. 327 numbered by the clerk, P. A. D' Cruz; pp. 124—327 blank; (32 x 20.5 cm).

The entries up to 1876 were recopied into the Register by the Prior A. C. Rodrigues from the previous one.

Vol. 11. Marriages. (July 12, 1906—). *Bandel & Chinsura.*

A volume with printed directions to be filled in; (38.5 x 25 cm). It may last still many years before it is full.

Vol. 12. Mixed (Nov. 13, 1851—Nov. 1878. *Chinsura* (Propaganda).

During the Padroado Imbroglia, which began in 1834, the Vicar Apostolic of Bengal appointed some of his priests as Chaplains to the soldiers at Chinsura. Only one register, preserved in the Murghihata Presbytery, is now extant. An earlier register appears, however, to have existed, since 4 entries of baptism (3 of Nov. and Dec. 1851, and 1 of April 28, 1853) seem to have been recopied by an untutored hand in the now extant one. The name of Fr. Leo des Avranches, a Capuchin, who from Bengal went to the Seychelles, is coupled with the baptism of Apr. 28, 1853.

PP. 11 of marriages; pp. 12-16, blank; p. 17: the four entries of baptism alluded to above; then, beginning from the other side: pp. 16 of baptisms; pp. 17-22, burials; pp. 23-41, baptisms; pp. 42-52, mixed. The rest is blank. (32 x 20 cm.)

Registers of the Confraternity of the Rosary.

Allusions to the Bandel Confraternity of the Rosary are to be met with at the end of the eighteenth century. The earliest date of enrolment in the registers now extant is Nov. 21, 1869. Many persons all over Bengal get their name enrolled into the Bandel Confraternity. The registers mention the Presidents, the Lady Patronesses and the date of decease of the members.

CH. II.—SACRED RETURNS FOR BANDEL & CHINSURA.

YEARS.	Baptisms.	Marriages.
	Bandel.	Bandel (& Chinsura?).
1757	22	16
1758		16
1759		16
1760		12
1761	54	2
1762	52	7
1763	41	4
1764	43	1
1765	90	12
1766	74	3
1767	25	4
1768	16	10
1769	6	
1770	39	2
1771	22	10
1772	17	17
1773	24	10
1774	16	7
1775	7	8
1776	20	10
1777	12	12
1778	22	2
1779	9	2
1780	31	6
1781	12	4
1782	19	4
1783	10	1

YEARS.	Baptisms.	Marriages.
	Bandel.	Bandel (& Chinsura ?).
1784	25	4
1785	38	6
1786	35	7
1787	27	1
1788	35	2
1789	22	6
1790	44	1
1791	25	3
1792	14	5

YEAR.	Baptisms.	Marriages.	Burials.	Baptisms.
	Bandel.	Bandel (& Chinsura ?).		Chinsura.
1793	16	8	23	
1794	18	1	44	
1795	16	2	47	
1796	16	1	45	
1797	11		51	
1798	13	3	65	6
1799	12	2	49	51
1800	8	2	54	70
1801	22	1	50	49
1802	16		41	65
1803	12	1	45	53
1804	9	2	33	36
1805	15	5	32	34
1806	5	2	32	37
1807	8	2	31	31
1808	7	1	32	35
1809	2		21	22
1810	5	1	33	38
1811	6	2	39	27
1812	11	2	29	24
1813	11	3	30	23
1814	7	3	35	25
1815	4	1	44	25
1816	1	3	20	29
1817	7	8	33	23
1818	9	3	35	25
1819	10	1	26	21
1820	7	2	45	26

BANDEL & CHINSURA CHURCH REGISTERS. (1757-1913). 137

YEARS	Baptisms	Marriages	Burials	Baptisms	Marriages
	Bandel		Bandel & Chinsura	Chinsura	
1821	3	2	35	21	1
1822	4	2	23	17	4
1823	5	1	24	15	5
1824	8	3	10	16	2
1825	2	2	10	23	2
1826	4	5	10	30	2
1827	8	6	13	39	9
1828	8	3	20	22	4
1829	11	1	28	19	5
1830	6	4	32	20	8
1831	6		24	28	7
1832	8	1	30	25	4
1833	15	1	47	22	5
1834	9	1	37	59	9
1835	8	1	17	33	10
1836	3	4	25	23	5
1837	10	2	11	24	5
1838	3		10	26	5
1839			11	10	1
1840	3		14	9	1
1841	1	1	21	4	1
1842	5	3	12	5	
1843	7	6	16	2	
1844	2	3	13	2	1
1845	4	1	10	8	
1846	9	1	13	1	2
1847	2	7	14	4	2
1848	7		6	2	1
1849	3	2	10	1	
1850	5	1	8	1	

YEARS	Baptisms	Marriages	Burials	Baptisms	Marriages	Baptisms	Marriages	Burials
	Bandel		Bandel & Chinsura	Chinsura		Chinsura (Propaganda)		
1851	2	2	12			3		
1852	3	1	4	2	2			
1853	5		6	1		1		
1854	4		7		1	3		
1855	9	1	8	3		10	5	

YEARS.	Baptisms.	Marriages.	Burials.	Baptisms.	Marriages.	Baptisms.	Marriages.	Burials.
	Bandel.		Bandel (& Chinsura).	Chinsura.		Chinsura (Propaganda).		
1856	6	2	4	1	2	3		
1857	3		6	1		1	1	
1858	2		4			11	4	
1859	6	1	6	3		10	13	
1860	4		2			30	4	87
1861	9	1	1	3		19	8	10
1862	9		4	3		15	4	13
1863	5	1	8	1		8	3	4
1864	1		7	2		24	2	8
1865	3	3	6	1	1	5	1	2
1866	7	2	2	2	1	9	2	16

YEARS.	Baptisms.	Marriages.	Burials.	Baptisms.	Marriages.	Burials. ¹	Baptisms.	Marriages.	Burials.
	Bandel.		Bandel (& Chinsura ?).	Chinsura.			Chinsura (Propaganda).		
1867	3	1	3	3			2	3	8
1868	6	1	3	2		1	7	1	13
1869	4	1	2	3		1	10		7
1870	7	2					1	3	2
1871	9	1	1				1		1
1872	3		2			2	3	2	1
1873	5	1	4	3		1	2	2	
1874	4	2				1		1	
1875	13		3					3	
1876	9	1	1	2				3	
1877	4		4						
1878	6		3					3	
1879	8		8	1			(Suppressed).		

1. From vol. 2.

Years.	Baptisms	Marriages	Burials
	Bandel & Chinsura.		
1880	3	1	5
1881	7	3	
1882	10	3	2
1883	8	2	1
1884	9	5	5
1885	7	3	2
1886	4	3	2
1887	5	3	2
1888		1	
1889	4	3	4
1890	1		1
1891	3	1	2
1892	2	2	1
1893	7	2	
1894	9	1	3
1895	7	4	4
1896	6	1	3
1897	1	1	2
1898	7	2	
1899	4	1	2
1900	6	3	
1901	4	3	
1902	1	3	1
1903	2	2	3
1904	19	3	
1905	11	3	5
1906	13	4	3
1907	11	6	1
1908	13	1	
1909	14	5	3
1910	11	6	3
1911	21	9	
1912	23	9	5
1913	17	5	

REMARKS ON THE STATISTICS.

We shall discuss first the statistics of the Augustinians of Bandel and Chinsura, after which we shall add a few remarks on the priests appointed as military chaplains at Chinsura by the Vicars Apostolic of Bengal.

Baptisms.—(*Bandel*). The Bandel Baptism Registers contain a gap for the years 1758, 1759, 1760. The 23 baptisms for 1757 are registered under months 4, 3, 6, 7, 9 only. The 90 baptisms of 1765, the maximum

on record, are distributed thus under the twelve months of the year: 4, 4, 0, 6, 3, 6, 6, 7, 2, 9, 23, 20. The burial registers of Bandel, Murghihata and Chandernagar do not go back far enough to let us see whether to the number of baptisms for Bandel in November and December 1756 (23 and 20) there corresponds a proportionately high mortality; but the Murghihata baptism registers show nothing unusual in November and December of 1765. Of the 74 baptisms of 1766, 45 took place in July. During that month there was a visitation by an ecclesiastical dignitary. (Cf. No. 16 in our list of priests). Out of 23 baptisms in June 1786, 15 were conferred by the Episcopal Governor, Frei Manoel de (Jesus Maria Jose?), *i. e.* No. 39 *infra*.

In spite of many ups and downs, the Bandel baptisms show a steady decline, especially after 1805. Evidently, the Catholic population of Bandel was driven by alterations in the economic and hygienic conditions of the place to parts lower down both banks of the river. Bandel had become proverbially unhealthy. A certain percentage of the baptisms in Vol. 6 (1866-1905) and Vol. 7 (1906—) is due to the fact that people bring their children from elsewhere, with the permission of their parish-priests, to be baptised in the Bandel Church.¹ The increase in the number of baptisms since 1904 is due to the Loco quarters of the E. I. Ry. at Bandel Junction. This has introduced new Catholic vitality in a place where, but for the never ceasing flow of pilgrims, it had become well nigh extinct.

(*Chinsura, Augustinians*).—The 6 baptisms for Chinsura in 1798 cover only the last 2½ months. Between 1799 and 1838 the baptisms at Chinsura are greatly in excess of those of Bandel; after that they drop suddenly and dwindle rapidly into insignificance. I find among my notes that the 59 baptisms in 1834 were largely baptisms of soldiers' children. The presence of soldiers at Chinsura between 1829 and 1871² may explain how the figures of baptisms maintained themselves from 1829 to 1838, rising even to 39 in 1829 and to 59 in 1834. Toynbee in his *Sketch of the Administration of the Hooghly District (1795-1845)*, Calcutta, 1888, p. 14, states that in 1829 the number of Christian inhabitants of 18 years and more was 76 in Chinsura and 30 in Bandel. We may

¹ Archbishop Paul Count Goethals, S. J., of Calcutta, addressing on Apr. 1887, a pastoral letter to the faithful of his jurisdiction, and commenting on the extent of the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Malabar, says: "And here we have to warn you against the practice of making vows or promises to God or to the Blessed Virgin to marry or have your children baptized in the Bandel Church. It is certainly a most praiseworthy practice to make pilgrimages to, and honour the the Blessed Virgin in, her sanctuary of Bandel. But to take a vow, with regard to an unlawful thing, is never permitted, and as such cannot be the object of a vow, or lay any binding obligation on those who have made it."

² Cf. L. S. S. O'Malley, (*Bengal District Gazetteer*) *Hooghly*, Calcutta, 1912, p. 280.

suppose that others than Europeans were counted, for I do not think it likely there were at Bandel, in 1829, 30 Europeans of 18 years and above. On the other hand, the number of Catholic baptisms (19) at Chinsura, and the number of Catholic burials (28) for Bandel and Chinsura, in 1829,—a normal year—would point to a total Christian population for Chinsura higher than that given by Toynbee.

Burials at Bandel and Chinsura.—During the period 1793—1866, the Christians who died at Chinsura were nearly all buried at Bandel, either in the Church or in the cemetery, the latter being in front of the Church and along the western aisle. The ground is quite small; but, as only the poorer class was buried there and no monuments were erected, it was possible to go on burying indefinitely. The Register shows that there was a cemetery at Chinsura, and some distance to the west of the Chinsura Church there is still a Cemetery, now overgrown with jungle, which contains at least one masonry monument, but without inscription. No burials take place there now, and for many years past no one must have been buried there. In olden times—the Chinsura Church bears the date 1740—some people may have been buried in the Chinsura Church also; two inscriptions are still to be found in it; but, owing to the great veneration which all had for the Bandel Church, the “Mother” of all the Churches in Bengal, the general wish at Chinsura must have been to be interred, as their ancestors of old, within the shadows of the Bandel Church, preferably within its walls.

The following statistics will show to what extent this practice of interring within the Church went on at Bandel. It was the same elsewhere, at Calcutta, Patna, &c., though not on so great a scale.

Out of 44 burials at Bandel in 1794, 15 took place in the Church; 13 out of 47 in 1795; 17 out of 45 in 1796; 14 out of 51 in 1797, one of them “por caridade”; 23 out of 65 in 1798, 15 out of 49 in 1799, 25 out of 54 in 1800, 22 out of 50 in 1801. In 8 years 144 persons out of 405, or more than one-third, were buried within the Church. This custom, which had grown into an intolerable abuse, is now practically abolished. A “cova” or grave in a church should be at a prohibitive price. In 1799, even a child, 5 months and 3 days old, parents unknown, George Safar,—the name is Armenian or Syrian¹—was buried within the church. A “cova” could be had for Rs. 6 in the central nave, and a “cova” before the altar of Our Lady of the Rosary cost only Rs. 12.

Mme Maria Mabert, wife of Captain Ricardo Mabert, was buried in the tomb of João Gomes de Soto, within the Church, on Febr. 7, 1798. Asiaticus records still in 1803 the inscription on that tomb. It declared that João Gomes de Soto had had the Church built (rebuilt).

¹ Cf. Masucci, *Storia da Mogor*, IV (Index), s. v. Khwajeh Safar.

In 1874, a person, who died at Burdwan, was buried in the churchyard of Bandel.

Of the 87 burials performed at Chinsura in 1860 by the Propaganda Chaplain, nearly all were burials of soldiers, or of their wives and children.

Marriages.—No Marriages are recorded in 1769 in the Bandel Registers. The entries run on continuously, however, no pages being missing. My impression of the Bandel Marriage Registers was that the figures up to 1778 included also the marriages of Chinsura. After that date, up to 1821, the two localities are no longer distinguished, which may mean that a special register was opened for Chinsura after 1778. It is all the more likely since, from 1740 to 1866 or even 1879, there appears to have been at Chinsura a resident priest, sometimes even two, and since we have a Chinsura baptism register beginning in 1798. At any rate, no special marriage register for Chinsura before 1821 is now extant.

The statistics of marriages from 1761 to 1821 strike us as very low, when compared with the baptisms and burials during that period, even if we make allowances for a percentage of baptisms *in extremis* of children and adults from paganism who died soon after their baptism. The difference is all the more striking, if the Bandel burial registers do not include all the deaths of Chinsura. Nor is it less striking after 1821, when we have the statistics of baptisms and marriages for both Bandel and Chinsura, and take it for granted that from that date the Bandel burial statistics contain also those of Chinsura.

Chinsura (Propaganda).—Our remarks above refer to the Augustinians at Bandel and Chinsura. Something must be said here of the Propaganda Missionaries of Chinsura. Up to 1834 the spiritual wants of the Catholic soldiers of Chinsura must have been attended to by the Portuguese Augustinians of Chinsura and Bandel. In 1834, when a Vicar Apostolic was appointed by Propaganda, Bengal saw the beginning of what is called the Goa "schism", the Augustinians in Bengal refusing to recognise the Vicar Apostolic without the placet of Lisbon. Between 1834 and 1857, the year of the Concordat, the Portuguese Clergy maintained their position in most of the older churches of Bengal, but as these churches were laid under interdict by the Vicars Apostolic, special provision had to be made for the Catholics adhering to the regulations of Propaganda. A military chaplaincy under the Vicar Apostolic of Bengal was established at Chinsura. We have traced its work in the registers only between 1851 and 1870, but we add in appendix what references to it we can find in printed and MS. papers.

CH. III.—LIST OF THE PRIESTS AT BANDEL & CHINSURA.

To understand the abbreviations in this list, let it be remembered that B stands for Baptism Registers, M for Marriage Registers, Bl for Burial Registers, and R for Registers. The smaller figures from 1 to 12 after the years indicate the months when the Priests sign the Registers or are mentioned as performing some sacred function. By means of these figures it is possible to determine within very narrow limits the presence of the Priests at Bandel and Chinsura. The usefulness of these dates to the historian is obvious. The study of the Registers of our other Churches will furnish other data about the career of most of these Priests. Unless we prefix "Chinsura" to a series of years, it must be understood that Bandel is meant.

Frei indicates the Religious; *Padre*, the secular Priests. The Religious were Augustinians, unless anything is said to the contrary.

1. *Frei Raphael dos Anjos.*

1757- 4-6 B.; '76. 5 M.

2. *Frei Manoel da Assumpção.*

1757. 5, 6, 7-9, M; 9, B; '58. 1, 2, 6, 7-9, 10; '59. 1, 4, 5; '60. 1, 7, 11; '62. 5-7, M.

Titles: 1757, is called Prior from May 5 to June 5; 1760, July 6, is called Provisor; 1762, July 26, is called Commissary.—In the Chandernagar Marriage Register he is called Provisor of the diocese of S. Thomé on April 14, 1761, when a letter of his, dated April 12, is quoted.—Most likely he is the author of the three earliest Bengali type-printed books, about which see my article in *Bengal: Past & Present*, IX, Pt. 1, pp. 40-63.

3. *Frei Bento de S. Silvestre.*

1757. 6, 7, B; 11, M; '05. 1, 2, 4, 5, 7, 9, 12 B; 1, 2, M; '66. 1 B & M; '67. 6, 7, 11, M.

Titles: 1765, signs Prior on Jan. 7 (B); 1765, is called Prior from Jan. 18 to Febr. 9, 1766; 1767, is called Coadjutor from June 28 to Nov. 22, 1767. In Apr. 1757 he opened the Baptism and probably also the Marriage Register for Bandel.

4. *Frei Caetano da Madre de Deus.*

1757. 6, 7, 10; '58. 2, 4, 7; '59. 1, 2, 4, 6, 10, M.—Opens the Baptism Register in the beginning of April 1757.—Appears as Prior on June 26, 1757 (M).

Titles. On Sept. 15, 1761, he dispenses in the matter of domicile. He is Grand Vicar of the Diocese, and dispenses from two bans on Febr. 22, 1762; he is called Provisor of (the Diocese of) San Thomé (of Mallapur) on June 12, 1762 and Nov. 13, 1763. (*Chandernagar R.*)

5. *Frei Agostinho da Madre de Deus.*

1758. 1. M.

6. *Frei Francisco da Purificação.*

1758. 11; '59. 1. 2. 4. 7. 10; '60. 1. 6. 7—11. M; '61. 12. B; '62. 1—6. B; 2. 4. 6. M.

7. *Frei Francisco da Assumpção.*1759, June 15; he is called Provisor and is distinguished in the same entry from Frei Manoel da Assumpção (No. 2 *supra*).He is said to have died on Febr. 6, 1760, and to be still without successor on June 2, 1760 (*Chaudernagar B*).8. *Frei Caetano de S. Joseph.*

1761. 1-4. 11. 12; '62. 1. 7. 9. 10. 11; '66. 8. 9. 11. 12; '67. 8. B; 3. M; '68. 1; '72. 11. 12. B; '72. 10. M; '73. 1. 2. 5. 9—12. B; 1. 2. 5. 7. 10. 11. M; '74. 6. B; 3. 6. M.

Titles: 1766, signs Prior on Aug. 24 and 26, B; 1767, March 2, is called Prior (M); 1772, between June 6 and Aug. 11, B. has: "[Here] begin the entries of the baptisms of the time of the Very Rev. Father Prior Fr. Caetano de São Joze"; M also states between June 4 and Aug. 19, 1772, that he became Prior.9. *Frei Joseph de Jesus e Maria.*1761. 4—10. B; 2. 7. M.—*Titles:* B states at p. 13 (Vol. I): "[Here] begin the entries of the baptisms conferred from the 15th of January 1761, when Fr. Prior Fr. Joseph de Jesu e Maria took possession of this Convent." In M he is called Prior on Febr. 1, 1761, and he signs thus in 1761 (B).10. *Frei João de S. Maria.*

1762. 4. 5. B; '63. 10. M; '65. 7. B; 1. 5. M; '66. 2. M.—On Apr. 15, 1762, he signs Prior (B), and is called thus on Apr. 30, 1762 (M).

11. *Frei Joseph de S. Antonio.*

1762. 12; '63. 1—5. 7—12. B; 11. 12. M; '64. 1. 2. 4. 8; '65. 7. B.—1763, Nov. 23, he is called Vicar Prior.

12. *Frei Henrique de S. Agostinho.*

1764. 5. 6. 7. 9—12. B.

13. *Frei Jose das onze mil Virgens.*

1764. 11. M; '65. 7. 8. B; '66. 2. M; '67. 12. B; '68. 1. 5. 6. M; '70. 8—12; '71. 1. 3. 5. 6. 8—12. B; 1. 6. 8. M; '72. 1. 2. 5. 6. 8. B; 5. M; '74. 8. 11. B. 11. M; '75. 5. 7. 9. M; '76. 1. 5—8. 10. 12. B; 5. M; '77. 5—8. 11. 12. B; 1. 5. 7. 9. 11. M; '78. 1—4. 7—9. 11. B.

Titles: 1770. Before Sept.: "[Here] begins the time when the Very Rev. Father Fr. Jose das onze mil Virgens became Prior." (B.)—On Oct. 21, 1770, he appears as Prior. (M.)

1774. Between the end of June and Aug. 30: "[Here] begin the

entries of the baptisms of the time of the Very Rev. Father Vicar Prior Fre Joze das onze mil Virgens." (B.)—Between June 1 and Sept. 25, 1774, he appears as Vicar Prior. (M.)

In Aug. 1777, a marriage is celebrated at Chinsura with his "commission." (M.)

On Febr. 1, 1779, he carried the body of Father João, the Armenian, from Chinsura to Chandernagar, where he made it over to the clergy of the latter place for burial. On that occasion, he is called Prior and Vicar of Bandel and Chinsura. (*Chandernagar Registers*.)

14. *Frei Veríssimo da Madre de Deus.*

1765. 6. 7. 8; '67. 11. B; 10. 11. M; '76. 11. B.

On Feb. 21, 1775, being Grand Vicar in Bengal, he dispenses from 2 banns. (*Chandernagar Registers*.) He died at Murghihata, Calcutta, on March 5, 1777, and was buried in the Church there. (*Murghihata Registers*.)

15. *Frei Jose de S. Agostinho.*

1766. 1—7; '84. 11; '85. 5—12. B; 6. 10. 11. M; '86. 4. B; 5. 7. M.—

On Nov. 1, 1784, he signs Prior (B.); on Nov. 21, 1784, he is called Prior and Provisor. (M.)

16. [Frei?] *Mel* [=Manoel] V. V. Gl. p. d. (=o?) G.or [Governador?].

1766. We find this curious signature in B with the note: "Seen, at my visit on July 19, 1766, that this book is used for the baptisms."

V. V.=perhaps: "Vigario da Vara"; or V. Gl.=Vigario Geral (Vicar General); p. d. (=o?)=per ordem (?)=by order [of the Ecclesiastical] Governor [of Mallapur?]

On Nov. 19, 1766, the Chandernagar Registers call one "Père Manuel." Grand Vicar of the Diocese in Bengal. His name is very likely Manoel da Virgem Maria, of whom we shall hear through the Murghihata Registers.

17. *Frei Carlos Cubela.*

1766. 12; '67. 1—10. B.

18. *Frei Marcellino de S. Joseph.*

1768. 1. B.—He appears as Vicar Prior.

19. *Frei Bernardino de S. Agostinho.*

1768. 1—4. 11. 12. B; 1—3. 5. M; '69. 1—3; '70. 1. 2. 3. B.—Between January 24 and June 26, 1768, he appears as Prior.

20. *Padre João, Armenio.*

1771. 1. 6. 7. 11; '72. 1. 3—6. M; '76. 5. 10. B.

The marriages he celebrated in 1771 and 1772 took place at Chinsura. He was an Armenian Catholic Priest, died at Chinsura on February 1, 1779, aged 77 or 78 years, and was buried in Chandernagar (*Chandernagar Registers*). Cf. *Bengal: Past & Present*, 1915, Vol. X, p. 87.

21. *Frei Raymundo de S. Rita.*

1772. 8. B; 8. 9; '73. 10; '74. 1. M.

22. *Frei Antonio da Luz.*

1773. 6. 7. 9. B; 6. 7. M; '75. 3. 4; '86. 2. B.

See obit No. 2 *Infra*. He died at Bandel, Dec. 5. 1795.23. *Frei Antonio de S. Nicolão.*

1773. 11. M; '74. 3—5. B.

24. *Frei João de S. Nicolão.*

1774. 9. 11; '75. 1. 6. 8. 9; '76. 6—11; '77. 1—7; '79. 6. M; 7. 10. B; '81. 8. 10—12; '82. 2—6. B; 4. 5. 9. M; '83. 1—3. 10. 11. B; 11. M; '84. 1. 3. 5. 7. 8. B; 2. 4. 11. M.

Titles: On June 27, 1779, is called Provisor (M); also on July 28 and Oct. 21, 1779 (B); on Apr. 10, 1782, is called Provisor and Prior of Bandel (M); on August 11, 1782, he calls himself Prior (B). On Sept. 25, 1770, Father João de S. Nicolão *dassa* [*sic*] (Da Sa, D'Sa?), is called Grand Vicar of S. Thomé and Provisor in Bengal. The form "Dassa" occurs five times. (*Chaudernagar Registers*.) Cf. his report on Bandel written at Goa, Febr. 28, 1785 in *Bengal: Past & Present*, 1915, pp. 111-118.

25. *Frei Luis dos Remedios.*

1774. 11. 12. B.

26. *Padre Michael Ferreira.*

1777. 3. 4; '81. 2; '85. 1. 2; '87. 11. B; 11. M; '88. 1—3. 5. 9. 11. 12. B; 11. M.—In 1788 he celebrated a marriage at "Sukssagar" (Sukhsagar).

27. *Padre Caetano Francisco de Souza.*

1777. 6. 7. M.

28. *Frei Manoel do Monte do Carmo.*

1778. 1. 2. 6. 10. B; 5. M.

29. *Frei Francisco de S. Maria.*

1779. 3. 5. 6; '80. 3. 5. 6. 8. 10. 11. B; 1. 5. 9. 11. 12. M; '81. 2. 4. 6. B; 2. 5. 12. M; '86. 3; '87. 5—9. 11. 12; '88. 6. 9. B; 1. M; '89. 4. 5. 9. 11. 12. B; 2. 5. 6. 10. M; '90. 1—6. 8. 9. 11; '91. 1. 3. 4. 7—10. B; 7. 8. 9. M; '92. 2—4. 7. 8. 11. 12. B; 1. 2. 7. 9. M; '93. 4. 6—9. B; 11. M; 7—12. Bl; '94. 1—4. 6. 7; 10—12. B; 1. M; 1—12. Bl; '95. 1. 2. 9. B; 1—12. Bl; '96. 1. 3. 4. 7. 10. B; 1—12. Bl; '97. 5. B; 1—12. Bl; '98. 4. B; 2. M; 1—3. Bl; '99. 1; 1800. 2. B.

Titles: 1779, March 2, signs Vicar Prior; 1787, May 6, calls himself Prior (B); 1793—March 20, 1798, calls himself Prior (Bl); on Febr. 10, 1795, he writes; "I, Francisco de S. Maria, Provincial Commissary in this Mission of Bengala and Coromandel Coast of the Religious Hermits of St. Augustine of East India, Prior of the Convent of Our Lady of the Rosary of [the] Bandel of Ugolim, and within these lands of Bengala Provisor and

Vicar da Vara for the Most Excellent and Most Reverend Lord Bishop of Mailapoor, [residing] at the Church of the Infant Jesus or the Holy Family situated at Chinsurah (B); on Jan. 4, 1798, he styles himself "Provincial Commissary, Provisor and Prior of this Convent [of Bandel]." (M).

See obit No. 10 infra. He died on May 4, 1805, at Bandel.

30. *Frei Jeronimo da Purificação.*

1779. 10. B; 9. M; '85. 1. M.

31. *Frei Gabriel da Anunciação.*

1780. 7. B.

32. *Padre Jose Caetano de Noronha.*

1780. 11. 12; '84. 11. B.

He died at Murghihata (1799, March 11), and was buried in the Church there. (*Murghihata Registers*).

33. *Frei Luis de S. Anna.*

1781. A dispensation for a marriage is asked from him, on which occasion he is called "Episcopal Governor of the Bishopric of Mailapur."

On May 19, 1767, he is called Grand Vicar of the Diocese in Bengal. (*Chandernagar Registers*).

34. *Frei Andre de S. Rosa.*

1782. 4. M; '83. 2; '84. 11; '86. 11. 12. B, 8. 10. 11. M; '83 '84 '86 '87. 2. 4; '88. 1. B.

35. *Frei Manoel de Jesus Maria Jose.*

1784. 11. M.—He celebrated this marriage on Nov. 21, dispensing from bans. He is called "Governor of this Bishopric of Mailapur." See No. 39.

36. *Frei Antonio de S. (Cruz?) Jose.*

1784. 11. B.—Cf. No. 31.

37. *Padre Antonio Caetano Rodriguez.*

1785. M.—He celebrated a marriage between Jan. 6 and June 11, 1785, date not specified.

38. *Padre Francisco Xavier da Costa Vasconcellos.*

1786. 5. 6. B. 6. M; '89. 9. B.—On June 22, 1786, he calls himself Coadjutor of the Prior of Bandel.

39. *Frei Manoel de Jesus Maria Jose (?)*.

1786. 6. B.—I read his name as "Manoel de Senyella Jose," but the name is so improbable that I propose the name above. Probably he must be identified with No. 35.

40. *Frei Jose de S. Rita.*

1786. Between Aug. 20 and Oct. 21, he becomes Prior (M); on Nov. 12, 1786, he is called Vicar Prior.

41. *L' Abbe de la Beaume.*

1786. (Nov. 13). B.

He died at Chandernagar on Dec. 25, 1789 (*Chandernagar Registers*). Cf. on Melchior La Beaume, a Frenchman, probably one of his relatives, who had been in India since 1755, *The Antiquary*, Bombay, 1903, pp. 194—195, and Hill's *Bengal in 1756—57*, s. v. Lebeaume. Also C. R. Wilson's *Old Fort William in Bengal*, on Melchior's services during the fighting in Calcutta in 1756.

42. *Frei Manoel de S. Rita*.

1787. 8. 11; '93. 1. 2. 4. B.

See obit No. 1 *infra*. He died on July 9, 1793, at Bandel.

43. *Frei Gaspar das Dóres*.

1788. 8. 12; '89. 1—5. B.—See obit No. 8 *infra*. He died at Nagory (Bhawal, Dacca) on July 10, 1803.

44. *Frei Bento da May de Deos*.

1788. 9. B.—One Frei Bento died at Murghihata on Dec. 24, 1788, and was buried in the Church there. (*Murghihata Registers*).

45. *Frei Salvador de Espirito Santo*.

1788. 10. 11. B.

46. *Frei Joaquim de S. Joze Pinheiro*.

1788. 8; '89. 3. 7. B; 6. 7. M; 1800. 1. 11. M; 4. 7. 10. 12. B; 3—11. Bl; 1804. 2. 3. 8. B; 1811. 6. M.

Chinsura.—1799. 10; 1803. 11; 1804. 1. B.

See obit No. 13 *infra*. He died on Feb. 17, 1812, at Murghihata, where he was buried in the Church. (*Murghihata Registers*).

47. *Frei Joze Guitheroe*.

1789. 4. B.—On Apr. 28, 1789, he is called "Provincial of the Hermits of St. Augustine of the Congregation of India and Ecclesiastical Governor of the Mission." He signs: "Provincial of the Religious and Ecclesiastical Governor of the Mission."

48. *Frei Manoel de S. Joaquim*.

1790. 2. 4—12. B, 1. M; '91. 1. 4. 10. 12. B.

On the different Freis Manoel de S. Joaquim cf. my brochure on *The Registers and Inscriptions of the Church of Our Lady of Dolours, Baitakhana*, *op. cit.* pp. 11—13.

49. *Frei Joze da Graça*.

1791. 2. B, when he calls himself "Provincial of the Hermits of St. Augustine, Provisor and Vicar da Vara in these lands of Bengala." On Aug. 24, 1791, a marriage dispensation is obtained from the "Provincial Commissary and Provisor, Fr. Joze da Graça."

50. *Frei Joaquim de S. Rita*.

1791. 5; '98. 6—11. B, 4—12. Bl; '99. 1—12; 1800. 1. 2. Bl.—From

1798, Apr. 26-1798, Dec. 25, he appears as Prior. See obit No. 3, *infra*. He died at Bandel on Dec. 25, 1798.

As I am unable at present to consult the burial registers of Bandel, I do not understand how his career extends through 1799 and 1800. There must be a mistake somewhere. The date of his death is as above, and it is not likely there were two Freis Joaquim de S. Rita.

51. *Frei Antonio de S. Jose.*

1792. 10; '93. 1. 4. 5. 10. B.

On Sept. 2, 1793, he numbers the pages of the Bandel Burial Register while in the Chinsura Church.—See obit No. 4, *infra*. He died at Bhawal on May 22, 1798. Is he Frei Antonio de S. Cruz above? (Cf. No. 36.)

52. *Frei Joaquim da Trindade.*

1793. 11; '94. 1; 1805. 8. B.

Chinsura.—1805. 9-12; '06. 1-5. B.

See obit No. 16, *infra*. He died at Kasimbazar on Jan. 24, 1818.

53. *Frei Manoel do Rosario.*

1794. 4. B; '98. 3; '99. 7; 1814. 11; '16. 3. M.

Chinsura.—1798. 10. 11. 12; '99. 1-5. 7-12; 1800. 1-7. 9-12; '01. 1. 3-11; '02. 1-12; '03. 1-4. 6-8. 10-12; '04. 1-3. 6-12; '09. 7-11; '10. 1-12; '11. 1-5. 7-12; '12. 1-4. 7-12; '13. 1-3. 5. 8-11; '14. 1-5. 7. 9-12; '15. 1. 3. 4. 6-11; '16. 1-5. 8-12. B. *Chinsura*.

Titles: 1798, May 2, Vicar of Chinsura (M); 1799, May 2, Vicar Prior (M); 1799, Dec. 17, Prior (B); 1800, Febr. 17, he is called "Prior of Bandel, Hougly"; 1802, he calls himself Provincial Commissary, and Prior residing at Chinsura; 1809, July 23, appears as Provincial Commissary and "Cura." (B. *Chinsura*.)

See obit No. 15 *infra*. He died at Chinsura and was buried at Bandel on Jan. 24, 1817.

54. *Frei Joaquim de S. Anna.*

1794. 11; '95. 2. 4. 6. 8. 11. B; 7. 8. M; '96. 2. 6. 8. 12. B. 4. M; '97. 1. 4. 5. 9-11; '98. 1. B.

See obit No. 9, *infra*. He died at Bandel on Sept. 28, 1803.

55. *Frei Manoel da Piedade.*

1794. 12. B.

56. *Frei Antonio de S. Rita.*

1799. 2-5. 9. 10. 12. B. 5. M; 1800. 1. 10. B; '01. 1. 2. 4. 7-9. 11. 12. B. 2. M; '02. 1. 4-6. 8-11. B. 1-7. 9. 10. B; '04. 4. 9-11. B. 6. M. 2-12. B; '05. 1. 2. 4. 8. B. 1. 6. M. 1. 3-8. B.

Chinsura.—1799. 10; 1800. 10; '01. 12; '04. 12. B. *Chinsura*.

Titles: 1803 (1804?) Febr. 27, signs Vicar Prior (B); 1804, Apr. 20,

signs Vicar Prior (B); is also called so on June 10, 1804, and Vicar Prior and "Regente" on Jan. 22, 1805 (M).

See obit No. 12, *infra*. He died at Bandel on Febr. 10, 1811.

57. *Frei Manoel do Cenaculo.*

Chinsura.—1799. 1. B. Chinsura.

See obit No. 7 *infra*. He died at Marghihata on May 29, 1803.

58. *Frei Christovão de S. Rosa de Lima.*

Chinsura.—1800. 12; '03. 11. B. Chinsura.

Bandel.—1803. 3. B. 5. M. 2—12. Bl; '04. 1. B. & M. 1. 2. Bl.

Titles; 1803, Febr. 11, signs Vicar Prior (Bl); is called so on May 4, 1803 (M).

59. *Frei Gaspar de S. Isabel.*

Chinsura.—1801. 1. B. Chinsura.

60. *Frei José de S. Vicente.*

Chinsura.—1801. 5. 6. 12; '02. 1—4. 10. B. Chinsura.

Bandel.—1802. 1. 2. 3. B.

61. *Frei Luís da Luz.*

1803. 1. 2. B.—On January 9, 1803, he signs Prior; on March 19, 1803, No. 5—a provisional number—(evidently a mistake in my serial numbers for Luís da Luz, signs Vicar Prior. No. 5 would have been Frei Joseph de Jesus e Maria, who was Prior in 1761 and must have been dead in 1803.

62. *Frei Francisco de S. José.*

1803. 6. 9—12; '06. 6—8. B. 7. M. 6—12. Bl; '07. 3—5. 8. 9. B. 9. 11. M. 1—12. Bl; '08. 1. 2. 4. 8. B. 1—11. Bl; '09. 5—7. B. 1. 2. 4—6. 8. 9. 11. 12. Bl; '10. 1—5. B. 1. 3. 4. 10—12. Bl; '11. 1. 3. B. 7. M. 1. 2. 4—6. Bl.

Titles; On June 14, 1805, he signs Vicar Prior (B & Bl); also on July 20, 1806 (M). See obit No. 14 *infra*. He died at Bandel on Aug. 15, 1812.

63. *Frei Francisco dos Prazeres.*

Chinsura.—1805. 1—8; '06. 6—9. 11. 12; '07. 1. 3—12; '08. 1—5. 7—12; '09. 1. 2. 4—6; '15. 5; '17. 1—3. 5—10. 12; 18. 1—7. B. Chinsura.

Bandel.—1805. 9—12. B. 10. M. 9. 11. 12. Bl; '06. 1. M. 1—5. Bl; '13. 3. 7. B. 7. M. 3. 4. Bl; '15. 7. B. 1. M. 3. 4. Bl; '17. 1. M.

Titles; 1805, May 5, calls himself Vicar (B. Chinsura); Sept. 17 & 22, Oct. 15, Vicar Prior (Bl, B. M.); 1806, June 19, Provisor (B. Chinsura); 1813, July 23, *do.* (B); July 13, Provisor and Vicar da Vara (M); 1817, Febr. 10, Provisor & "Cura" (B. Chinsura).

He died at Murghihata and was buried there in the Church on Aug. 21, 1818.

64. *Frei José das Neves.*

1805. 5. 6. B.—He died at Baithakhana on Jan. 22, 1837.

Cf. obit No. 27 *infra*.

65. *Frei João de S. Catharina.*

1808, 1. M. On Febr. 2, 1808, is witness to an abjuration from heresy (B); '18, 12. B; '19, 1. M & Bl; '22, 1. 2. 11; '23, 4. B.

Chinsura.—1818, 10, 11. B. *Chinsura*.

See obit No. 18 *infra*. He died and was buried at Duitapur (?) on March 21, 1820. If there is no mistake in the date of his death, I must by mistake have noted him above under 1822 and 1823.

66. *Frei Joaquim da Virgem Maria (Malaquias).*

1810, 2. M, 3, 5, 10, B, 4-10, Bl; '12, 11, 12, B, 11, M, 12, Bl; '13, 1, 2, B & Bl.—On April 25, 1810, he calls himself Coadjutor (Bl).

Chinsura.—1814, 8. B. *Chinsura*.

67. *Frei José da Piedade.*

1811, 4-6; '12, 3, 10, B, 10, M, 7-10, Bl. He signs Vicar Prior on May 16 & 20, 1811 (B), Aug. 30, 1812 (Bl), and Oct. 25, 1812 (M).

68. *Frei Manoel de S. Theresa.*

Chinsura.—1813, 2. B. *Chinsura*, when he is called Provincial Commissary.

He died at Murghibata, Calcutta, on May 6, 1829, and was buried in the Church there. Cf. obit No. 23 *infra*.

69. *Frei Joaquim das Neves.*

1813, 5, 9, 11, 12, B, 9, 12, M, 5-12, Bl; '14, 4, 7-11, B, 9, 11, M, 1-12, Bl; '15, 7, 11, B, 1, 2, 5-12, Bl; '16, 8, B, 7, 10, M, 1-4, 7-9, 11, 12, Bl; '18, 5, 7, 12, B, 7, 11, M, 3, 4, 6-8, 10-12, Bl; '20, 10, B, 10-12, Bl; '21, 3, 11, 12, B, 11, M, 1-10, 12, Bl; '22, 1, 8, M, 2, 5-12, Bl; '23, 1, 3, 4, Bl.

Titles: 1813, May 22, signs Vicar Prior (B & Bl); also on Sept. 26 (M); 1818, June 28, Prior (Bl); July 27, *do.* (M); Nov. 8, is called Vicar Prior (B. *Chinsura*); Dec. 24, signs *do.* (B); 1820, Oct. 18 & 20, *do.* (B. & Bl).

He died at Dacca, Jan. 10, 1827. See obit No. 20 *infra*.

70. *Frei Joaquim de Carvalho.*

Chinsura.—1815, 8. B. *Chinsura*.

71. *Frei Antonio de S. Maria.*

Chinsura.—1817, 7; '18, 7-9, 11; '19, 2-5, 7-9, 11, 12; '20, 1-3, 5, 7-10; '24, 1, 12; '25, 2. B. *Chinsura*.

Bandel.—1818, 10; 1826, 1, (M). The marriages may have been celebrated at Chinsura, the only extant marriage register for Chinsura beginning in 1821.

He died at Murghibata, Calcutta, and was buried in the Church there on Apr. 6, 1841. See obit No. 32 *infra*.

72. *Frei Antonio da Assumpção.*

1817. 2. 5. 6. 11. 12. B. 2. 5. 9. 11. M. 1. 2. 4—12. Bl.; '18. 2. B. 1. 2. 5. 6. Bl.; '19. 2—5. Bl.

Titles: 1817, Jan. 9, Prior (Bl), Febr. 3 & 19 signs *do.* (M. & B.); 1819, Jan. 10, is called Prior, Provisor and Vicar da Vara (B); Jan. 18, Provisor and Vicar da Vara (M).

He died at the Baithakhana Church, Calcutta, on May 26, 1840; and was buried there in the Church. Cf. obit. No. 30 *infra*.

73. *Frei Pedro Benedicto, a Capuchin.*

1818. 12; '19. 1. 4. 5. B. Chinsura; '28. 2. B. 7. Bl. 10. 11. M.; '29. 7; '30. 6. 7. 8. 10. M.—Only in July 1828 he signs "Capucinho." (Bl.)

In the Chandernagar Registers he signs "Pierre Benoit."

74. *Frei Luis de S. Rita.*

Bandel.—1819. 1. 3. 5—7. 9. B. 6. 8. 10—12. Bl.; '20. 5—8. 12. B. 2. 5. M. 1—9. Bl.

Chinsura.—1820. 11. 12; '21. 1—4. 6. 7. 9—12. B. 7. M.; '22. 1. 4—12. B. 3—11. M.; '23. 2. 3. 5—11. B. 4. 7. 8. 11. M.; '24. 1. 2. 6. 7. 9—12. B. 3. 11. M.; '25. 1—3. 5. 6. 8—10. B. 1. 5. 10. M.; '26. 1—3. 5—10. 12. B. 3. 11. M.; '27. 1. 2. B. 1. M.

Titles: 1819, June 2, appears (as Prior?), Bl., Bandel; 1820, Nov. 12, appears as Vicar and signs thus on Dec. 3 (B. Chinsura).

He died on April 11, 1827, probably at Chinsura, in which case he would have been buried at Bandel.

Cf. obit. No. 21 *infra*.

75. *Frei Manoel de Mesquita.*

1819. 12. B.—He died at Baithakhana on Apr. 17, 1829. Cf. obit. No. 22 *infra*.

76. *Frei Antonio da Guia.*

1823. 6. 7. 11. B. 6. M. 5—12. Bl.; '24. 1. 2. 4. 6. 10—12. B. 10. 11. M. 1. 3. 4. 7. 9. 10. 12. Bl.; '25. 1. 12. B. 1. 2. M. 1. 2. 4. 9—11. Bl.; '26. 1. 2. 6. 7. B. 1. 5. 11. M. 1. 4. 5. 7. 8. 12. Bl.; '27. 1. 5. 7. 11. 12. B. 1. 2. 9. M. 1. 3. 4. 8—12. Bl.; '28. 3. 4. B. 1. 3. 4. 5. Bl.

Titles: 1823, May 16, June 11, June 23, appears as and signs Prior (B. M. & Bl).

77. *Frei Antonio de S. Gonçalo (de Amaranthe).*

1826. July 31, he is mentioned as Curate of Chandernagar. He died at Morghihata on Apr. 20, 1827, and was buried in the Church there. (Murghihata Registers.)

78. *Frei Antonio de Nossa Senhora da Graça.*

Chinsura.—1827. 1. 3. 3. 4. B, 2. M.

Bandel.—1827. 4. M; '28. 5. B.

79. *Frei Antonio da Virgem Maria Teixeira*.

Chinsura.—1827. 5-12. B, 5. 6. 8. 10. M; '28. 1-12. B, 2. 10. 11. M; '29. 1. 2. 4-6. B, 2. 4. M.

80. *Frei Frutuoso de S. Agostinho*.

Bandel.—1828. 7. 10. 11. B, 8-12. Bl; '29. 2. 6. 7. 9-11. B, 11. 12. M, 1. 3-12. Bl; '30. 2. 6. 7. 9. 11. B, 2. M, 1-5. 7-12. Bl; '31. 1. 4. 12. B, 2-5. 7-12. Bl.

Chinsura. 1829. 8. 9. 11. 12; '30. 1-3. B.

Titles: 1828, July 11 & Aug. 19, signs Vicar Prior (B & Bl), Oct. 23, Prior (M); 1829, Febr. 26, signs Provisor (B), and Aug. 30, Prior (B. Chinsura).

He died at Nagory (Blawal, Dacca) on Aug. 28, 1840. Cf. obit No. 31 infra.

81. *Frei Lourenço dos Milagres*.

1829. 3. B.

82. *Frei Fulgencio de S. Rita*.

Bandel.—1830. 5; 1832. 7. B.

Chinsura.—1830. 6. 7. 9-12. B, 5. 6. 7. 11. M; '31. 1-12. B, 2. 5. 6. 9. M; '32. 1. 2. 4. 7-12. B, 2. 3. 4. 8. M; '33. 1-12. B, 1. 2. 8. 10. 12. M; '34. 1-12. B, 2. 4. 7. 10. M; '35. 1. 3-12. B, 1. 9-12. M; '36. 1-12. B, 3. 5. 7. 10. M; '37. 1-4. 6-12. B, 1. 7. 9. 10. 11. M; '38. 1-6. 8-12. B, 2. 7. 9. M; '39. 2-5. 10. 12. B, 11. M; '40. 1. 4. 8. 11. 12. B, 9. M; '41. 1. 6. 8. 10. B, 9. M; '42. 1. 2. 4. B.

On June 29, 1830, signed Vicar (B. Chinsura). His last entry of baptisms was on Apr. 3rd, 1842, (*ibid.*), by which time he had become an apostate.

83. *Frei Innocencio das Neves*.

1830—32 (B). Somehow I did not put down his serial number (68) in my tables; but, as his name must have turned up after No. 67 (Frei Fulgencio de S. Rita) and before No. 69 (Frei Simão da Conceição), I must have met him between 1830 (May) and 1832 (April).

He died on Sept. 12, 1834, at Hasmabad (Hussainabad), near Dacca. Cf. obit No. 25 infra.

84. *Frei Simão da Conceição*.

1832. 1. 2. 4. 6-12. Bl, 4. 6. 7. 10. B, 6. M; '33. 1. 6. 9. 11. 12. B, 4. M, 1-12. Bl; '34. 2. 4. 5. 8. 10. 11. B, 5. M, 3-12. Bl; '35. 1-3. 5. 7. B, 6. M, 3-8. 10. 12. Bl; '36. 2. B, 3. 4. 12. M, 1-5. 7-11. Bl; '37. 1. 4. 11. B, 10. M, 1. 3-9. 11. 12. Bl; '38. 4. 5. 7. B, 1. 5-7. 10. 11. Bl; '39. 5-11. Bl; '40. 4. 12. B, 2-4. 6. 8. 9. 11. 12. Bl; '41. 9. B, 1. 2. 4-6. 9-12. Bl; '42.

1. 4-6. B. 4. 5. 10. M. 1. 2. 5-10. 12. Bl; '43. 5. 11. 12. B. 4. 9. M. 1. 4. 6. 8. 10-12. Bl.

Since he died on Dec. 31, 1843, I made a mistake in my tables of baptisms, when I marked his serial number (69) under months 9 and 11 of 1844.

Titles: 1832. Jan. 19, he appears as Prior (Bl); also on Apr. 8 (B), and June 26 (M).

He died in Calcutta, on Dec. 31, 1843, and was buried in the Balthakhana Church. Cf. obit No. 34 infra.

85. *Frei Guilherme de Jesus Maria.*

1833. 3. B.

86. *Frei Adeodato da Conceição Coutto.*

1835. 12; '36. 11. B.

87. *Frei Salvador de S. Anna.*

1837. 9. B.

88. *Frei João Correia.*

1837. 11. B; '44. 1. 11. M. 1-5. 7. 12. Bl; '45. 3. 4. Bl.

On March 19, 1845, he calls himself Prior. He died at Bandel on Apr. 10, 1845. See obit No. 35 infra.

89. *Frei Gregory Mary de Bene.*

Chinsura. 1838. 11. (B. & M.)—He signs "Apostolic Missionary and Acting Vicar of Chinsurah," and wrote his entries in English. See Nov. 10 & 25, 1838 (B).

90. *Frei Joaquim das Neves Rebelo Videira.*

Chinsura.—1842. 4. 12; '43. 3. 4; '44. 11. 12. B. 11. M; '45. 1. 7-9; '46. 8. B. 1. 11. M; '47. 1. 8. 9. 12. B. 2. 5. M; '48. 1. 6. B. 8. M; '49. 9; '50. 2; '52. 12. B. 2. 6. M; '53. 7. B.

In 1846, signs Vicar, and on Sept. 17, 1849, calls himself Vicar of Chinsura and Coadjutor of Bandel (B. Chinsura).

Bandel.—1852. 8. 12; '53. 1. 2. B. 1. Bl.

91. *Antonio Marquez da Conceição Albano.*¹

1843. 2. M. 1. 3. Bl; '45. 2. B.

92. *Ambrosio Antonio Lobo.*

1843. 7. B.

93. *Philippe Athanasio da Costa.*

1844. 11; '46. 11. B. 10. M; '48. 1. B.

94. *Frei José de S. Agostinho Gomes.*

1845. 6. 11. B. 10. M. 4. 7. 10-12. Bl; '46. 2. 5. 7. 8. 11. B. 1. 3-7. 10. 11. Bl; '47. 1. 6. B. 1. 6. 7. 9-11. Bl; '48. 3. 6. 11. 12. B. 1. 6-8. 11. Bl; '49. 1. 4. 11. B. 2-4. 7. 9-11. Bl; '50. 2. 8. 10-12. B. 1. 5. 7. 8. 11.

1. The secular priests are shown by the absence of "Frei."

12. Bl; '51. 1. 2. B. 8. M. 1. 4. 8. 9. 11. 12. Bl; '52. 4. B. 2. M. 5. 6. 12. Bl;
'53. 11. B. 3. 8. 10. 12. Bl; '54. 1. 2. 10. B. 1. 4. 9. 11. Bl; '55. 2. 6. 8. 10. 11.
B. 1. M. 1. 4. 7-11. Bl; '56. 1. 2. 4. 12. B. 7. M. 3. 8. 11. 12. Bl; '57. 2. 8.
B. 8-11. Bl; '58. 12. B. 1. 4. 11. 12. Bl; '59. 1. 4. 12. B. 2. 9-13. Bl;
'60. 2. 4. 10. 12. B. 6. 10. Bl; '61. 1. 2. 5. 12. B. 1. M. 8. Bl; '62. 1. 5. 6. 11.
B. 2. 12. Bl; '63. 2. 9. B. 1. 9. Bl; '64. 11. B. 11. 12. Bl; '65. 4. 11;
'66. 9. Bl.

Chinsura.—1852. 1. B.

Titles: 1846 (read 1845), Nov. 23, signs Prior (B). He had signed thus
on April 11 and Oct. 8, 1845 (Bl & M); 1857, Febr. 22, signs "O Dezembar-
gador" (B); on Nov. 18, 1857, calls himself Prior, Provisor and Vicar. See
his obit infra (No. 36). He died on Nov. 12, 1869, and was the last Augusti-
nian in Bandel, nay in India.

95. *Francisco d'Assis*, a Franciscan (?).

1847. 1; '69. M.

96. *Frei Joaquim de S. Antonio e Piedade*.

1849. 2. 7. M.

97. *João da Graça*.

1853. 4. B.

98. *Cosme Caetano D'Souza*.

1853. 5. B.

99. *Lázaro Fortunato de Souza*.

Chinsura.—1854. 6. M. when he signs Vicar; '55. 7. 8. 12; '56. 10. B. 4.
8. M; '57. 6; '61. 5. 9. 12; '62. 3. 6; '63. 2; '64. 2. 10; '65. 1. B. 7. M; '66.
11. 12. B. 9. M; '67. 5. 8. 11; '68. 3; '69. 2. 4. 10; '73. 3. 10. 12. B.

Bandel.—1856. 6 (when he signs Vicar of Chinsura); '63. 10; '64. 12. Bl;
'65. 2. M.

I am doubtful whether he signed P.e (Padre) or Fr. (Frei). My reason
for thinking he was not a "Frei" or Augustinian Friar, is that he did not
succeed Frei Jose de S. Agostinho Gomes as Prior of Bandel.

100. *Germano Euzébio Rodriguez*.

1854. 12. B.

101. *Sebastião Jose Gonzales*.

Bandel.—1858. 10. B; '59. 2. M.

Chinsura.—1859. 7. 8. 12. B.

102. *Zeferino Jose Nascimento de Souza*.

1863. 5-7. B. 9. M. 11. 12. Bl; '64. 2-5. Bl; '65. 2. 10. B.

On Febr. 2, 1865, he calls himself "encarregado."

103. *John de Vos, S. F.*

1865. 10. B.

104. *Diogo Lourenço de S. Maria.*

Bandel.—1865. 12; '66. 1. Bl; '67. B. M. & Bl; '78—'87, '89. B; '78—'89. Bl; '80—'89. M.

Titles: 1867, Coadjutor; 1879, '80, officiating Vicar & Prior; 1880, Oct. 1, Vicar & Prior; 1881, *do.* (B); 1882—89, Prior (Bl)

Chinsura.—1879. 9. B, when he signs Vicar.

105. *Diogo Joviniano de Souza.*

1866. 1. B.

106. *Miguel Francisco de Souza.*

1867. B; '68. B. M. & Bl.

107. *Alexander Carlos Rodrigues.*

1869—79 (B), when at times he signs Prior, at times Vicar; '69—'73, '75—'79 (Bl), when he signs Prior; 1870, '71, '73, '74, '76 (M), when he signs Prior.

In 1881 he makes the visit of *Bandel* (July 5) and signs there the registers of *Bandel* & *Chinsura*.

108. *B. F. X. Barbosa.*

1872. B; '81. M. In 1881 he writes "in charge."

109. *M. Jerome.*

Chinsura.—1876. 2, 12. (B). He signs Vicar.

110.—*Barthet. (Chandernagar.)*

1881, '83. (M). From this time several persons of *Chandernagar* came to *Bandel* to have their marriage celebrated by their parish priest.

111. *Gabriel Salvadore Britto.*

1889, '90 (Bl); 1889. (M). On July 11, 1889, appears as Prior. See obit No. 37 *infra*. He died on July 7, 1891, at *Baithakhana* and was buried at *Bandel*.

112. *J. Beatty.*

1891 (B); 1892 (M. Vol. 9). Both years, he is Acting Prior.

113. *B. M. da S. Furtado.*

1891—'95. M; 1891, '92, '94, '95. Bl; '92—'95. (B). In 1892, Offg. Prior (B); and Prior (Bl); in 1893, he signs still Offg. Prior (B); in 1894, '95, he signs Prior (Febr. 11, 1894, B).

114. *H. M. Bottero. (Chandernagar.)*

1893. M.

115. *P. M. da Silva.*

1895—98 (B); 1895, '96 (M); 1895, 1897 (Bl).

In 1896—98, he is Prior (B).

116. *Manoel da Visitação Rodrigues.*

1895, '96; 1898—1913 (B); 1898—1913 (M); 1899, 1902, '03, 1905—

'07; 1909, '10; 1912, '13 (Bl). In 1895, '96, "Acting Prior"; 1898, "priest in charge" (B); 1899—1914, "Prior" (M. B. & Bl).

117. *J. F. Fernandes.*

1895. (Bl).

118. *P. J. O'Connell.*

1896. (B). Perhaps the name should have been read O'Carroll. There is a Father P. J. O'Carroll, Perambur, Madras N. (Cl. Catholic Directory of India, 1912).

119. *J. N. Neves.*

1896. B. & Bl.

120. *P. Gayet. (Chandernagar).*

1897, 1902—'07. M. On Oct. 6, (1897?) his name appears to be written "Gahate."

121. *A. F. de Bragança Mascarenhas.*

1897. M; 1898, 1904, '06, '07, '09. B.

122. *Ludovico da Caridade Ferrão.*

1899, 1900. B.

123. *Joaquim Xavier d'A. Torquato.*

1901. B.

124. *C. S. Cotta.*

1903. '05. Bl; '05. B. In 1903 he is Offg. Prior, not in 1905.

125. *Pio Alexio Simão Francisco de Sousa.*

1905. B. M. & Bl; 1906, 1909, Bl; 1909. B.

126. *Maximo Godinho.*

1906, 1907. B.

127. *Rodolfo Suarez.*

1908. B. & Bl.

128. *Amorim Ferrão.*

1908. B.

129. *R. Bondoul.*

1909. M. He calls himself Acting Vicar of Chandernagar.

130. *B. D'Cunha.*

1910. M; '11, '12, '13. B; 13. M.

131. *A. Van de Mergel, S. J. (Calcutta).*

1911. M.

132. *F. X. De Wachter, S. J. (Howrah).*

1911. M.

133. *P. A. Durier. (Chandernagar).*

1913. M.

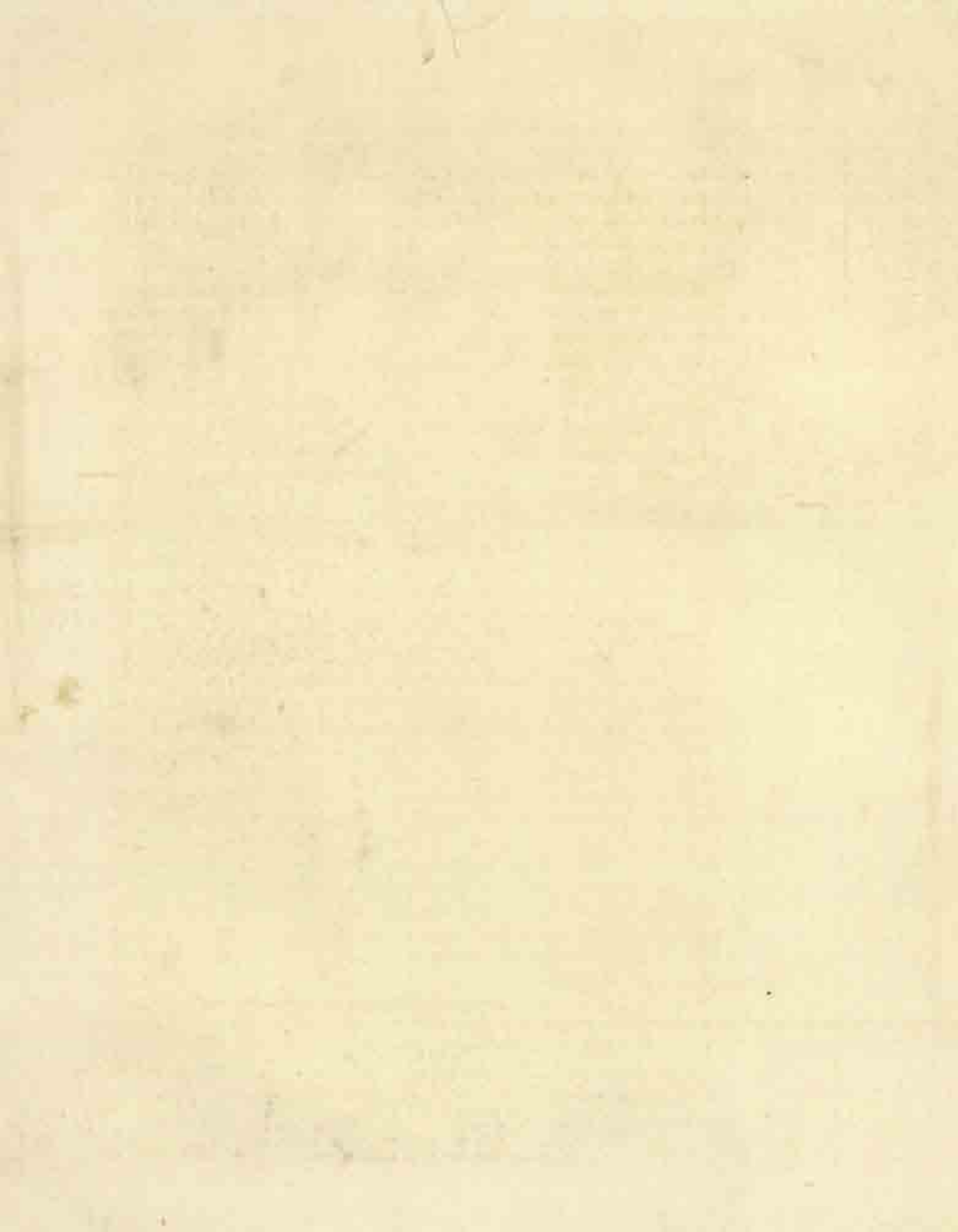
To these names we add the following which occur only in the obits.

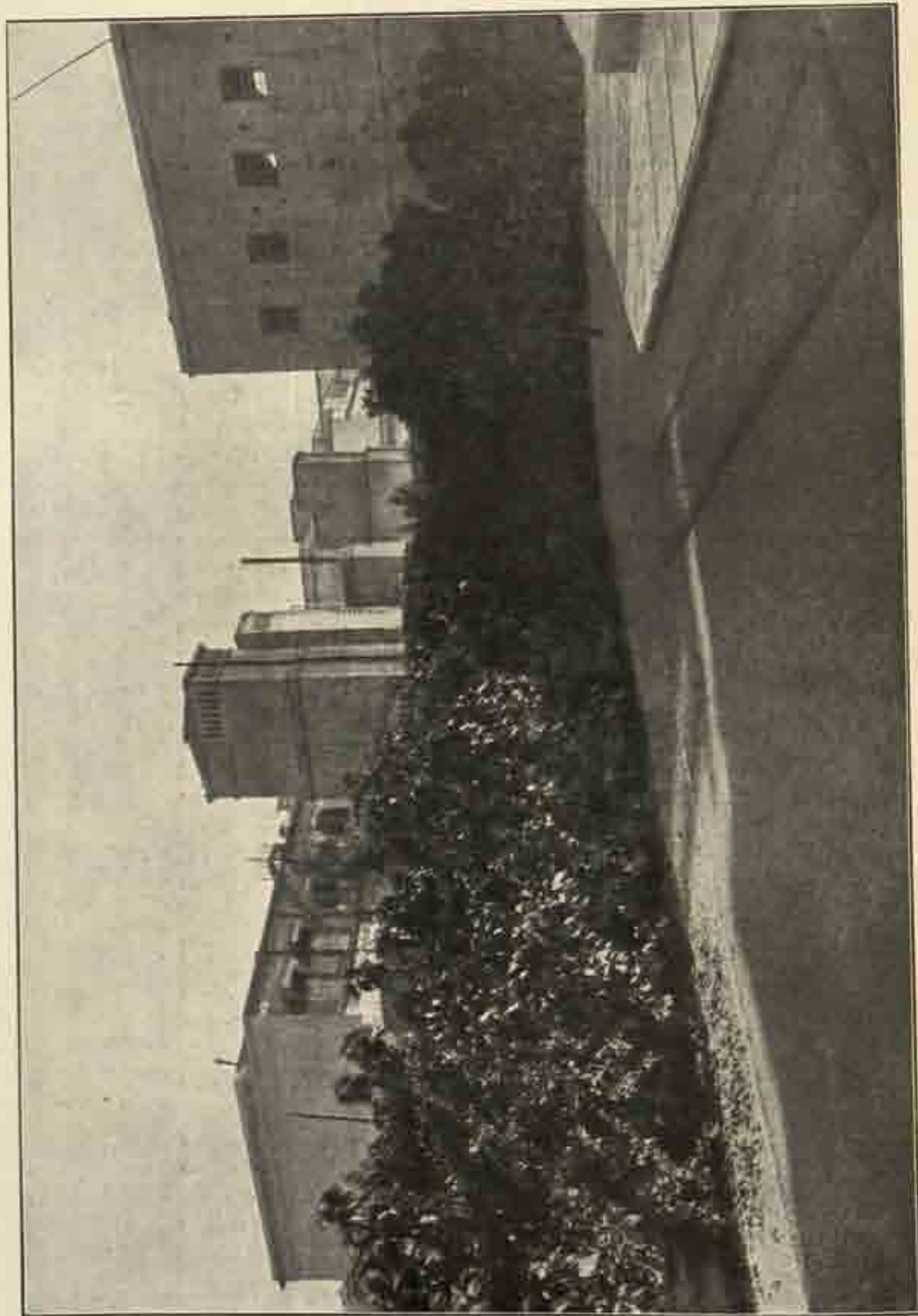
134. *Frei Christovão da Assumpção* († Febr. 13, 1798, Murglihata, Calcutta). Obit No. 3.
 135. *Frei Joaquim de S. Maria* († Sept. 13, 1802, Bhawal). Obit No. 6.
 136. *Frei Antonio de Padua* († Dec. 3, 1810, Bandel). Obit No. 11.
 137. *Frei Manoel de S. Jozé*. († Dec. 22, 1826, Kasimbazar). Obit No. 19.
 138. *Frei Mariano da Assumpção* († Oct.—, 1832, Dacca). Obit No. 24.
 139. *Frei Bartholomeu do Quintal* († March 19, 1835, Kasimbazar). Obit No. 26.
 140. *Frei José da Expectação e Carvalho* († Nov. 18, 1839, Bandel). Obit No. 28.
 141. *Frei Carlos da Sacra Família* († March 2, 1840, Dharamtala, Calcutta). Obit No. 29.
 142. *Frei Antonio Botelho* († Oct. 28, 1841, Baithakhana, Calcutta). Obit No. 33.

For other names see below under *Visitations of Ecclesiastical Dignitaries*.

H. HOSTEN, S. J.

[To be continued.]





A type of XVIIIth Century Kitchen Chimney.
GARSTIN'S PLACE.

The Bandel and Chinsura Church Registers. (1757—1913.)

[Continued]

LIST OF MILITARY CHAPLAINS AT CHINSURA—(PROPAGANDA).

From Vol. 12.

1. Leo des Avranches, O. Cap.—1853. 4. B.
2. Emm. Chéroutre (Chandernagar).—1854. 12; '55. 2, 3, 8, 9, 11, 12. B.
2, 4, 5, 12. M. He calls himself Officiating Vicar.
3. Francis Moore.—1856. 12; '57. 2. B, 3. M. He calls himself Chaplain.
4. J. G. Williams.—1858. 1, 3, 9, 12. B, 6, 10, 11, 12. M; '59. 1. B.
5. John O'Donoghue.—1859. 1, 3, 5, 9, 10, 12. B, 1-7, 9, 11. M; '60. 1-12.
B, 3, 6, 7. M, 1-12. Bl; '61. 1-3, 6, 10-12. B, 1-4. M, 1-4, 6, 7, 10, 11. Bl; '62.
1, 2, 5, 9, 11, 12. B, 3, 6, 9. M, 2, 9, 11, 12. Bl; '63. 5, 7, 8, 11, 12. B, 8, 10, 11.
M, 1, 2, 12. Bl; '64. 1, 3, 5, 8, 10-12. B, 1, 4. M, 1-4, 7, 8, 10, 11. Bl; '65. 2,
7, 10, 12. B, 2. M, 7, 11. Bl; '66. 1, 2, 8, 11. B, 6, 11. M, 2, 3, 10-12. Bl; '67.
1, 3, B, 9, 11, 12. M, 1-3, 6-8, 10. Bl; '68. 1, 7-9, 11. B, 12. M, 1, 3-6, 10, 12.
Bl; '69. 1, 6, 11, 12. B, 2, 4, 11, 12. Bl; '70. 10. B, 5, 6, 9. M, 10, 12. Bl.
6. J. Lacour, S. J.—1871. 7. B.
7. J. Henry, S. J.—1871. 10. Bl; '72. 3, 12. B, 4, 11. M; '78. 11. M.
8. Th. Lobert, S. J.—1872. 9. Bl; '73. 8, 10. B, 10. M; '75. 1, 5. M;
'78. 3. M.
9. —? Barthet (Chandernagar).—1873. 12. M.
10. W. Newport (Chandernagar).—1874. 9. M.
11. E. W. Mooney (Chandernagar).—1876. 4. M.
12. Th. Salles (Chandernagar).—1876. 7. M.
13. B. Larcher, S. J.—1876. 9. M.
14. J. Lynch (Chandernagar).—1878. 7. M.

CH. IV.—SACRED RETURNS SENT TO GOA.

Bandel. Baptisms: 1770, Nov. 25; 1784, Nov. 22; 1785, between Oct.
9 and Nov. 5; 1792, Dec. 31; 1795, Dec. 8 (by Frei Francisco da S. Maria);
1799, Dec. 17; 1801, Aug. 1; 1803, Aug. 4 (up to June 17); 1805, up to Dec.

Chinsura. Baptisms: 1799, between Aug. 31 and Sept. 24; 1801,
between June 28 and July 7; 1803 between Aug. 29 and Oct. 2; 1805,

between Jan. 11 and Jan. 26; the returns were sent from 1807 to Dec. 1822 by Frei Luis de S. Rita, through Padre Frei Antonio da Guia, the "actual" Prior of the Bandel Convent, at the order of the Very Rev. Father Provincial Frei Jose da Piedade; 1823; 1825, between Nov. 20 and Jan. 5.

In 1834, by order of the Government, the Augustinians and other monastic orders of both sexes were suppressed in Portugal and the Portuguese dominions overseas. Hence, no returns were sent after that date to the Provincial of the Augustinians at Goa.

VISITATIONS BY ECCLESIASTICAL DIGNITARIES.

On the occasion of their visitations, the Ecclesiastical Dignitaries examined the registers, and signed them under their remarks.

1866. *Bandel*. Visit of the Archbishop Primate of Goa, Dom João Chrysostomo de Amorim Pessoa. (*Baptism Register*, p. 259): "Seen at my visit of Febr. 11, 1866. We hope that the Reverend Vicar of Bandel will get made a register for the entries of obits, and a register for the new pastorals and the written regulations of the Very Rev. Provisor, Superior of the Mission, and that in the entries of this book he will declare, as much as possible, the names of the parents (*avos*) of the baptised and the occupation of the parents of the said baptised.—Bandel, 11 February 1866.—*Primate*."

(*Marriage Register*, p. 155): "Seen at my visit of the 10th of February 1864 [*sic*]. We earnestly recommend to the Missionary who may be parish-priest in the church of Bandel to have more care in writing down these entries (*na escripturação destes assentos*), which form the basis of civil society.—Bandel, 11 February 1866.—*Primate*."

I believe the remark was just. The sparse figures in my tables of marriages between 1845 and 1866, compared with the more numerous burials, seem to indicate on the part of Frei Jose de S. Agostinho Gomes some carelessness in the keeping of the books. However, it is difficult to judge. The number of marriages is always considerably lower than that of baptisms and burials. There were hardly any Catholics living at Bandel, and the Bandel Burial Register contains the burials of both Bandel and Chinsura, while there was a separate Baptism and Marriage Register for Chinsura. However, the Bandel Baptism Register shows between 1845 and 1866 that Frei Jose de S. Agostinho Gomes, or his clerk, postponed at times the insertion of the entries, with the result that the necessary data could not be filled in later.

1866. *Chinsura*. Visit of the Archbishop Primate of Goa, Dom João Chrysostomo de Amorim Pessoa. He ordains in the Baptism Register (Febr.

(1) that the names of the parents of the baptised and their profession be carefully noted, and that in future the Registers be kept in English.¹

1878. *Bandel*. Visit of the Archbishop Primate of Goa, Dom Ayres d'Ornelas e Vasconcellos. He signs in B.R. (Vol. 6) on Febr. 10, and in Bl. R. (Vol. 8), Febr. 18.

Chinsura. He visited also Chinsura, and wrote in the Baptism Register (our Vol. 2, 1798—1879), p. 199: "Seen at my visit. We ordain that the Rev. Missionary get this book bound, without loss of time, and make the entries in future in accordance with the Roman Ritual.—Chinsurah, 10 Febr., 1878.—A., Archbishop Primate." He signed on the same date the Chinsura Marriage Register.²

1879. *Bandel*. Padre Antonio Thomas da Silva Leitão e Castro signs, after examining them, the Marriage Register, our Vol. 4, p. 155, 12 Sept., and the Burial Register, our Vol. 5 (no date), also the Baptism and Marriage Registers, our Vols. 6 and 10 (11 and 12 Sept.).³

1881. *Bandel*. July 5. Visit of Father Alexandre Carlos Rodrigues, Vicar General. He signs our Vols. 6, 8, 9.

Chinsura. He signs also our Vols. 2 and 5 (Chinsura baptisms, 1798—1879, and marriages 1821—1866.)

CH. V.—OBITS OF PRIESTS FROM THE BANDEL REGISTERS.

The greater part of these obits is translated from Vol. 3.

1. *Frei Manoel de S. Rita* (No. 42 *supra*).

On the eighth of July of the year one thousand seven hundred and ninety-three died in this Convent of Our Lady of the Rosary of [the] Bandel of Ugolin the Reverend Father Fr. [Frei] Manoel de Santa Rita, a Religious of our profession, after previously receiving all the Sacraments. His body was buried in the Chapel of the High Altar (*capella maior*) of this Church, on the Gospel side. In truth whereof I made this declaration on the same day, month and year as above.

Fr. Francisco de Santa Maria, Prior.

2. *Frei Antonio da Luz* (No. 22 *supra*).

On the ninth of December 1795, the Reverend Father Fr. Antonio da Luz, Religious Hermit of our Father Augustine of the East India Congregation, and a Missionary in these lands of Bengala, yielded up his soul into the hands of his Creator, after receiving all the Sacraments. In the

1. On his visit to Bengal, see Padre C. C. de Nazareth, *Missiones Lusitanas no Oriente*, [Pt. I], 1a edição, Lisbon, 1897, pp. 531—533, 546.

2. On his visit to Bengal, see *ibid.*, p. 546.

3. See on him *ibid.*, Pt. II, Bombay, 1888, pp. 7, 8.

evening of the same day he was buried near the door of the Sacristy. In truth whereof I made this entry on the same day, month and year as above.

Fr. Francisco de Santa Maria,
Provincial Commissary and Prior

3. *Frei Christovão da Assumpção.*

1798,
Febr. 13.

On the thirteenth of the said month [February] died in Calcutta the Very Rev. Father Master Fr. Christovão da Assumpção, a Religious of our Order and Vicar of the same Church. His body was buried [1 or 2 words not deciphered] the Chapel of the High Altar in the first Church,¹ with the reminder that his bones be brought, at the proper time, to this our Church. In truth whereof I made this entry.

Fr. Francisco de Santa Maria, Prior.

4. *Frei Antonio de S. Jose (No. 51 supra).*

1798,
May 22.

On the 22nd May 1798 died the Reverend Father Fr. Antonio de S. Jose, while Rector of the Mission in Bhawal. He was 37 years old, approximately, and had been 14 years a Missionary. He had been first a layman in the Convent of Goa. I wrote this entry about 11.

[*Christovão de S. Rosa*] *D[e] Lima, Prior.*²

5. *Frei Joaquim de S. Rita (No. 50 supra).*

1798,
Dec. 25.

Dec. 25. During the night of the 25th of December 1798 died the Very Rev. Father Fr. Joaquim de S. Ritta, being Vicar Prior of this Convent. He was 53 years old.

[*Christovão de S. Rosa*] *D[e] Lima, Vicar Prior.*

6. *Frei Joaquim de S. Maria.*

1802,
Sept. 13.

On the 13th of September 1802 died in Bawal Father Fr. Joaquim de S. Maria, being in the 30th year of his age, the 4th of Mission, and the 10th, more or less, of religious life. In truth whereof I made this entry.

D[e] Lima, V[icar] Prior.

1. The present Church of Marghikata was built within the grounds and, I am told, near to the spot where the earlier Church had stood. The first stone of the new structure was laid on March 12, 1797, the Church being consecrated on Nov. 27, 1799. The "first" Church means, therefore, the "earlier" Church. In 1798 it was 100 years old, rather more than less. Even so, it was not the very first Catholic place of worship in Calcutta.

2. This entry, like the next one, was made at a later date by Christovão de S. Rosa de Lima.

7. *Frei Manoel do Cenaculo* (No. 57 *supra*).

1803,
May 29.

On the 20th of May 1803, at five in the evening, died in Calcutta Father Fr. Manoel do Cenaculo, the Vicar of that Church. He was in the 36th year of his age, the 16th of Religion and the ninth and a half of Mission. In truth whereof I made this entry.

Fr. Christovão de S. Rosa de Lima, V[icar] Prior.

8. *Frei Gaspar de Nossa Senhora das Dores* (No. 43 *supra*).

1803,
July 10.

On the 20th [of July] arrived the news that on the 10th of July 1803 Father Fr. Gaspar das Dores died at Nagory in the Bowal. A Religious of Our Order, he was 38 or 39 years old, and had been 16 years a Religious and about 14 years a Missionary. He governed as parish-priest (*parroquiao*) the Churches of Tesgaó, Sipur, Sirampore, Cassimbazar, Ossunabat [Hussainabad] Nagory and Panjorah. I wrote this entry about it.

Fr. Christovão de S. Rosa de Lima, V[icar] Prior.

9. *Frei Joaquim de S. Anna* (No. 54 *supra*).

1803,
Sept. 28.

On the 28th [of September 1803] died in this Convent Father Fr. Joaquim de S. Anna, a Religious of Our Order. He was fifty years old, and had been nearly sixteen years in Religion, and about ten a Missionary. He never was in charge of any church. He lies buried in the Chapel of the High Altar of this Church, on the Epistle side. In truth whereof I made this entry on the same day, month and year as above.

Fr. Christovão de S. Rosa de Lima, V[icar] Prior.

10. *Frei Francisco de S. Maria* (No. 29 *supra*).

1803,
May 4.

On the 4th of May 1803 died in this Bandel of Hoogoly the Very Reverend Father Provisor Fr. Francisco de S. Maria, a Religious Hermit of Our Father Augustine, in the 75th year of his age, and the 40th of Mission. Twice he was Prior of this Convent: the first time during two years and some months, the second time during 11 years and some months. He was many years at Balasor as Vicar, and at Sirampore. He governed this Mission as Commissary and Provisor, and was Vicar of the Church of Calcutta; finally, he is buried in this Church in front of the Altar of Our Lady of the Rosary, and close to the platform, as he had asked in his Inventory. In truth whereof I wrote this entry.

Fr. Antonio de S. Rita, V[icar] Prior.

11. *Frei Antonio de Padua*.

1810,
Dec. 3.

On the 3rd of December 1810, died in this Convent Father Fr. Antonio de Padua, a Religious Hermit of Our Father Saint Augustine, aged

thirty-three years, more or less, and being temporarily Vicar of the Church of Our Lady of Dolours of Boytheanâ. He was buried below the Arch against the wall on the Epistle side of the Chapel of the High Altar. In truth whereof I made this entry on the same day, month and year as above.

Fr. Francisco de S. Jose, Prior.

12. *Frei Antonio de S. Rita* (No. 56 *supra*).

1811,
Febr. 10.

On the 10th of Febr. 1811 died in this Convent Father Fr. Antonio de Santa Rita, a Hermit of Our Father St. Augustine. He was about 50 years old and was Vicar of the Church of May de Deos at Serampur. He was buried below the arch of the Chapel of the High Altar of this Convent, on the Gospel side, against the wall (*incostado a parede*). In truth whereof I wrote this entry on the day, month and year above.

Fr. Francisco de S. Jose, Prior.

13. *Frei Joaquim de S. Jose Pinheiro* (No. 46 *supra*).

1812,
July 17.
(fol. 31r).

On the 17th of July 1812 died in this Convent, aged about 56 years, Father Fr. Joaquim de S. Jose Pinheiro, a Religious of Our Father St. Augustine. Born in the diocese of Coimbra in Portugal, he received the habit in Lisbon, and coming to India in the Mission of the Very Rev. Father Provincial, Fr. Jose Guilherme, he made his profession at Goa. He was about 24 years a Missionary in this Mission, having been Vicar at Chatigaô, Sipur, Cassimbazar, Serampore, etc. He is buried in the Chapel of the High Altar, under the Arch on the Gospel side. This entry ought to have been made before, but it was forgotten by the late Father Prior Fr. Francisco de S. Jose. In truth whereof I made this record on the 29th September 1812.

Father Fr. Jose da Piedade, Vicar Prior.

14. *Frei Francisco de S. Jose* (No. 62 *supra*).

1812,
Aug. 15.

On the 15th of August 1812, at 4 o'clock in the morning, died in this Convent the Very Rev. Father Prior Fr. Francisco de S. Jose, a Religious of Our Father St. Augustine. He was about 36 years old, and was born of white parents at Goa. He counted 25 years of religion and about 10 of Mission. During 5 years, two months and 27 days the Prior of this Convent, he laboured hard to repair it, chiefly the Church, which he rebuilt for the greater part. He made also the "gate" [*ghât*, or landing-place] of the Convent, the greater part of all these works being done with the alms which, with much trouble to himself, he obtained from the faithful and from devout persons. A loving friend of his pays to his memory this

just tribute of praise in the name of the Augustinian Religion. This entry was not made in the right place, because it was not known that its place was [to be] in this book. In truth whereof I made this entry on the 29th of September 1812.¹

Father Fr. Joze da Piedade, Vicar Prior.

15. *Frei Manoel do Rosario* (No. 53 *supra*).

1817,
Jan. 24.

On the 24th of January 1817 died the Very Reverend Father Fr. Manoel do Rozario, a Religious Hermit of Our Father St. Augustine, aged 59 years and born of white parents in the Aldea of S. Pedro das Ilhas of Goa. He had been [*a blank*] years in Religion and [*a blank*] years a Missionary. He was Rector of the Mission, Prior, Commissary, and Vicar of the Church of Our Lady of the Rosary of Calcuta, and more than 20 years Vicar of the Church of Chinsurath, where he died much regretted by all the Christians there. He was buried in the Chapel of the High Altar on the Gospel side. In truth whereof I made this entry. He was also Provisor and Vicar da Vara.

Fr. Antonio da Assumpção, Prior.

16. *Frei Joaquim da Trindade* (No. 52 *supra*).

1818,
Jan. 24.

On the 24th of January 1818 died in the Colony of Cossimbazar the Very Reverend Father Fr. Joaquim da Trindade, a Religious Hermit of Our Father St. Augustine, a native of Margão in the Province of Salcote [Goa]. He was 54 years old and had been [*a blank*] years a Religious, and 30 years a Missionary. He was Coadjutor in the Church of Calcutta, and Vicar of the Churches of Chatigan [Chittagong], Jabalcão [Jabalcat?], Sibpur, Tesgão, Panjora, Hossnabad, Serampore, Chinsurah, Chandernagor, and Cossimbazar, where he died and was buried in the Church, and, to leave a reminiscence of the fact, I made this entry. To-day, 28th January 1818.

Fr. Antonio d' Assumpção, Prior.

17. *Frei Manoel de S. Joaquim* (No. 48 *supra*).

1820,
March 15.

On the 15th of March 1820, at half past three in the afternoon, died Father Fr. Manoel de S. Joaquim, who retired to this Convent in the evening of the 13th, being sent by the Very Reverend Father Master Provincial Commissary, Fr. Manoel de Santa Theresa. The said Father made

¹ The writing and the abbreviations of this entry made it extremely difficult to get at the meaning. The age of the Prior, which while at Bandel I read "36 years," should be 46 or 56; more likely 56.

his confession publicly in writing and received the Sacraments. He was buried in the Chapel of the High Altar of this Convent, in the grave on the Epistle side. In truth whereof I made this entry on the same day, month and year as above.¹

Fr. Luis de S. Rita

18. *Frei João de S. Catharina* (No. 65 *supra*).

1820,
March 2.

On the 21st of March [1820], died at Duirapor [? Buirapor?] Father Fr. João de Santa Catharina, and he was buried the next day in the same place. This very sad news filled with sorrow, not only the Religious of the Mission, but the Christians also. In remembrance [of him] I made this entry on the 29th of the said month and year as above.

Fr. Luis de S. Rita

19. *Frei Manoel de S. Jose*.

1826,
Dec. 22.

On the 22nd of December 1826 died at Cacimbazar Father Fr. Manoel de S. Jose (*M. et de S. J. e*), Vicar, and one of our Religious. He was buried there.

20. *Frei Joaquim das Neves* (No. 69 *supra*).

1827,
Jan. 10.

On the 10th of January 1827, died at Dacca, where he was Vicar, the Very Rev. Father Fr. Joaquim das Neves, aged about 59 years. He occupied at Goa all the posts, with the exception of those of Prior of the Convent and Provincial, which he declined to accept. He was for many years Prior of the Convent of Bandel, as is seen in the books. A perfect Religious, he deserves to be called "the Prudent" and "the Angel of Peace." Suffice it to say in everlasting memory of him that he who wrote this sad entry was one of his Novices, a clear proof that there are Masters whom their disciples do not complain of, and that he who was his Novice bemoans not only his goodness, but prays to God for bliss on his soul. Year as above.

Fr. Antonio da Guia, Prior.

21. *Frei Luis de S. Rita* (No. 74 *supra*).

1827,
April 11.

On the 11th of April 1827 died the Very Reverend Father Fr. Luis de Santa Rita, a Religious of Ours, aged 68 years. He was Vicar of Calcutta and Vicar of Chinsurah. During his rule, strictness was wanting in the

¹ On the several Freis Manoel de S. Joaquim in Bengal about the same time, Cf. my discussion in *The Registers and Inscriptions of the Church of Our Lady of Dolours, Boitshakano, Calcutta (1810-1914)*, Calcutta, Catholic Orphan Press, 1915, pp. 11-12. Privately printed.

Churches (?), as is shown by the Reforms of the Images, a notorious fact.
Date as above.¹

Fr. Antonio da Guia, Prior.

22. *Frei Manoel de Mesquita* (No. 75 *supra*).

1829,
April 17.

On April 17, 1829, died in this Parochial House the Rev. Fr. Manoel de Mesquita, Chaplain of Dum-Dum, a Religious of the Convent of [Our Lady of] Grace [Goa] (*Religioso Graciano*), aged 41 years and 9 days. He was buried in the Chapel of the Most Holy Redeemer of this Church. In truth whereof, &c.—Fr. Simão da Conceição, Vicar." (*Baithakhana Reg.*)

A similar entry occurs in the Bandel Registers: "On the 17th of April 1829 died at the Church of Boythakanahit [*sic*] Father Fr. Manoel de Mesquita who was received (*perfilhudo*) in Our Province of Portugal. He was 41 years and 6 days old, and was buried in [that?] Church. In truth whereof I made this entry on the 18th of the said month of the year above.

Fr. Frutuoso de S. Agostinho, Prior.

23. *Frei Manoel de S. Thereza* (No. 68 *supra*).

1829,
May 6.

On the 6th of May 1829, the Very Rev. Father Master Fr. Manoel de Santa Thereza died at Calcutta, where he was buried the same day. In truth whereof I made this entry on the same day, month and year as above.

Fr. Frutuoso de S. Agostinho, Prior.

The Murghihata Registers state: "On May 6, 1829, died Father Master Provisor Fr. Manoel de S. Thereza, an Augustinian, and Vicar da Vara in Bengal, aged 58. He was buried before the High Altar of the Rosary Church."

24. *Frei Mariano da Assumpção*.

1832,
Oct. 3.

On the [a blank] of October 1832 died at Dacca the Very Rev. Father Fr. Marianno da Assumpção, a Religious Hermit of Our Father St. Augustine and a Missionary in these lands of Bengala. He was born at Bardez, Goa. In truth whereof I made this entry to hold good at any time.

Fr. Simão da Conceição, Prior.

25. *Frei Innocencio das Neves* (No. 83 *supra*).

1834,
Sept. 12.

On Sept. 12, 1834, died at Hosenabath the Very Reverend Father Fr. Innocencio das Neves, a Religious Hermit of Our Father St. Augustine, and

1. I give the Portuguese passage, for I am not sure that I deciphered it properly: "Tendo talis pella sua Goy.o [?] la rigidade p.a o auto das Igr.as e bem o mostra as Reformas [?] das Imagens como he notorio."

Missionary in the lands of Bengala. Born in Bardes, Goa. In truth whereof I made this declaration to hold good for all time.

Fr. Simão da Conceição, Prior.

26. *Frei Bartholomeu do Quintal.*

1835,
March 19.

On March 19, 1835, died at Cassimbazar, where he was Vicar of the Church of the said place, the Very Rev. Father Fr. Bartholomeu do Quintal, aged about 35 years. A native of the Azores, he came to this city in 1832, as Chaplain of the *Camoens*, and belonged to the Order of Our Father St. Augustine, Province of Portugal. In truth whereof I wrote this declaration.

Fr. Simão da Conceição, Prior.

27. *Frei Jose das Neves (No. 64 supra).*

1837,
Jan. 22.

On Jan. 22, 1837, died the Very Rev. Father Provincial Commissary, Fr. Jose das Neves, aged [a blank]. (*Baithakhana Reg.*)

"On Jan. 22, 1837, died at Boytocannah, the Very Rev. Father Fr. Jose das Neves, aged about 66 years, Religious of Our Augustinian Order and a native (*filho*) of Goa. He had been about 34 years in the Mission.

Fr. Simão da Conceição, Prior." (Bandel Reg.)

28. *Frei Jose da Expectação e Carvalho.*

1839,
Nov. 18.

On Nov. 18, 1839, died in this Convent of Bandel Father Fr. Jose da Expectação e Carvalho (while on his way to Dacca, where he was Vicar). A native of Goa (*natural de Goa*) and a Religious of our Order of St. Augustine, he was about 38 years old. In truth whereof I made this entry on the same day month and year as above.

Fr. Simão da Conceição, Prior.

29. *Frei Carlos da Sacra Família.*

1840,
March 2.

On March 2, 1840, Father Fr. Carlos da Sacra Família died in the Church of Doroomitulah in Calcutta. Born at Goa, Province of Bardes, and a Religious of Our Order of St. Augustine, he was about 37 years old. In truth whereof I wrote this entry on the same day, month and year as above.

Fr. Simão da Conceição, Prior.

30. *Frei Antonio da Assumpção (No. 72 supra.)*

1840,
May 26.

On May 26, 1840, died in the Parochial House of the Church of Our Lady of Dolours of Boytockana the Very Rev. Father Master Fr. Antonio da Assumpção, of the Order of Hermits of Our Father St. Augustine, being

Provisor and Vicar da Vara of this Mission of Bengalla, and Vicar of the Roman Church of Boytockannah. He was buried the next day in the said Church of Boytockannah. He was 63 years old and was born at Goa. In the year 1815 he came to Bengalla. In truth whereof I made this declaration on the same day, month and year as above.

Fr. Simão da Conceição, Prior.

31. *Frei Fructuoso de S. Agostinho* (No. 80 *supra*).

1840,
Aug. 28.

On the 28th of August 1840 died at Nagory, where he was Rector, Fr. Fructuoso de Santo Agostinho, a Hermit of Our Father St. Augustine. Born in Portugal [*sic*], he came to the Mission in 1812, was Prior of the Convent of Bandel, and had reached the age of 70 years approximately. In truth whereof I made this entry.

Fr. Simão da Conceição, Prior.

32. *Frei Antonio de S. Maria* (No. 71 *supra*).

1841,
April 6.

On the 6th of April 1841 died at the Church of Calcutta, where he was Vicar, Father Fr. Antonio de S. Maria, a Hermit of Our Father St. Augustine. Born in Portugal, he came to the Mission in 1816 and was 53 years old. In truth whereof I made this entry.

Fr. Simão da Conceição, Prior.

(We find him at Murgubata from 1812).

33. *Frei Antonio Botelho.*

1841,
Oct. 28.

On Oct. 28, 1841, died at 10 P.M. at the Church of Boytockannah the Rev. Father Fr. Antonio Botelho, a Religious of our Order. He took the habit in our Convent of Lisbon in 1831, and came to Goa the same year with the Missionaries brought out by the Provincial, Fr. Joze Rebeiro de Carvalho. A native of Beira in Portugal and about 31 years old, he was actually Rector of the Mission of the Bhowal. In truth whereof I made this attestation.

Fr. Simão da Conceição, Prior.

"On Oct. 29, 1841, died the Very Rev. Father Fr. Antonio Botelho."
(*Baithakhana Reg.*)

34. *Frei Simão da Conceição* (No. 84 *supra*).

1843,
Dec. 31.

Born in Portugal, he came to the Mission in 1816, and died at the age of 58 in the house of Mr. L. D'Souza, Calcutta (Dec. 31, 1843), being at the time Prior, Provisor, and Vic-Gen. of the Bishop of Mallapur. He was buried in the Church of Baithakhana. (*In the writing of Fr. J. Correia.*)

35. *Frei João Correia* (No. 88 *supra*).1845,
April 10.

On April 10, 1845, died at the Convent of Our Lady of the Rosary of Bandel Fr. João Correia, Prior, Provisor and Vicar-General of the Bishop of Malapour. A Hermit of Our Father St. Augustine and a native of Goa, he was 50 years old. He came to the Portuguese Mission. In truth whereof, &c.
Fr. José de S. Agostinho Gomes, Prior.

36. *Frei José de S. Agostinho Gomes* (No. 94 *supra*).1866,
Nov. 12.

In the year of O. Lord 1869, on the 12th November, the V. Rev. José de Santo Agostinho Gomes, born in Goa, about sixty-nine years old, resident of Bandel, departed the present life in the Convent of Bandel. His remains were buried on the same date in the Church of Our Bl. Lady of the Rosary. Unable to speak, and having manifested his wish to receive the Sacrament of Penance, he was absolved and received the Sacrament of Extreme Unction. In truth whereof this entry was made on the date above.

Alexandre Carlos Rodríguez, Prior.

37. *Father Gabriel Salvador Britto* (No. 111 *supra*).1891,
July 7.

In the year of Our Lord 1891, on the 7th of July of the same year, Gabriel Salvador Britto, native of Goa, Roman Catholic Priest, Vicar, Roman Catholic Church, Bandel, Hooghly, at the age of 48 years and 7 days, departed this life at the Boitakannah Parochial House, No. 146, Bow Bazar Street, Calcutta. He was buried in the left aisle of the Church of Our Lady of the Holy Rosary at Bandel on the following day. In truth whereof this entry is made.—*B. M. da Silva Furtado*, Offg. Prior, for Rev. J. Beatty.¹

CH. VI.—AUGUSTINIAN PRIORS OF BANDEL.

1706, Febr. 23.—Frei "Pierre des Martyrs," Vicar of the Bandel of "Ougulin," dispenses from 3 banns.

1721, Jan. 1.—The Prior of Bandel, who is Vicar General, dispenses in the matter of "forbidden times."

1737, Nov. 26.—Padre Damian is Vicar of the Bandel of Hugli.

1738, June 4.—"Le P. Michel de l' Assomption," Prior of Bandel, declares here is no impediment for the marriage of a girl.

(The dates above are taken from the Chandernagar Marriage Register, 1694—1775. The figures below do not indicate the beginning of the Priors' taking possession of their office; they mean that they call themselves or are called Prior on those dates).

1. The two last obits, the only two in English, are taken from Vol. 8.

Bento (de S. Silvestre ?)	... 1757, Apr.
Manoel da Assumpção	... 1757, May 5—June 5
Caetano da Madre de Deus	... 1757, June 26
Jose de Jesus e Maria	... 1761, Jan. 15
João de S. Maria	... 1762, Apr. 15, 30
Jose de S. Antonio	... 1763, Nov. 23
Bento de S. Silvestre	... 1765, Jan. 7; '66, Jan. 18—Feb. 9.
Caetano de S. Jose (1 ^o)	... 1766, Aug. 24, 26; '67, March 2.
Bernardino de S. Agostinho	... 1768, Jan. 24—June 26.
Jose das onze mil Virgens (1 ^o)	... 1770, before Sept., Oct. 21.
Caetano de S. Jose (2 ^o)	... 1772, between June 6 & Aug. 11, becomes Prior.
Jose das onze mil Virgens (2 ^o)	... 1774, between end of June & Aug. 30, becomes Prior; 1779, Febr. 1.
Francisco de S. Maria (1 ^o)	... 1779, March 2; ('80, Sept. 7 & 23, <i>Murghikata Registers</i> ; Prior for 24 years (<i>Bandel obit.</i>).
João de S. Nicoláo	... 1782, Apr. 10, Aug. 11.
Jose de S. Agostinho	... 1784, Nov. 1 & 21; 1786, Jan. 7—Febr. 13.
Jose de S. Rita	... 1786, between Aug. 20 & Oct. 1, becomes Prior; Nov. 12.
Francisco de S. Maria (2 ^o)	... 1787, May 6; 1793—1798, March 20; (March 14, 1798—Sept. 3, 1799, <i>Murghikata Registers</i>); his 2nd term of office lasted 11 years, and some months. (<i>Bandel obit.</i>)
Joaquim de S. Rita	... 1798, Apr. 16—Dec. 25, when he died.
Mantel da Rosario	... 1799, May 2, Dec. 17; 1800, Febr. 17; 1802.
Christovão de S. Rosa de Lima	... 1802, Sept.; 1803, Febr. 11, May 4, July 20, Sept. 28.
Luis da Luz	... 1803, Jan. 9, March 19 (?). My dates are overlapping here.
Antonio de S. Rita	... 1803 (1804?), Febr. 17; 1804, Apr. 20, June 10; 1805, Jan. 22, May 4.
Francisco dos Prazeres	... 1805, Sept. 17, 22; Oct. 15.
Francisco de S. Jose	... 1806, June 14, July 20; 1810, Dec. 3; 1811, Febr. 10. He died on Aug. 13, 1812, having been Prior 6 years, 2 months and 27 days. (<i>Bandel obit.</i>)

Jose da Piedade	... 1811, May 16, 20; 1812, July 17, Aug. 15, 30; Oct. 25.
Joaquim das Neves (1 ^o)	... 1813, May 22, Sept. 26. He was Prior during many years. (<i>Bandel obit.</i>)
Antonio da Assumpção	... 1817, Jan. 9, 24; Febr. 3, 19; 1818, Jan. 24; 1819, Jan. 10.
Joaquim das Neves (2 ^o)	... 1818, June 28, July 27, Nov. 8, Dec. 24; 1820, Oct. 18 & 20.
Luis de S. Rita	... (1819, June 27); 1820, March 15, 21; Nov. 12—Dec. 3.
Antonio da Guia	... 1823, May 16, June 11, 23; 1827, Jan. 10, Apr. 11.
Fructuoso de S. Agostinho	... 1828, July 11, Aug. 19, Oct. 23; 1829, Apr. 17, May 6, Aug. 30.
Simão da Conceição	... 1832, Jan. 19, Apr. 8, June 26, Oct. 1, '34, Sept. 12; '35, March 19; '37, Jan. 22; '39, Nov. 18; '40, March 2, May 20, Aug. 28; '41, Apr. 6, Oct. 28.
João Correia	... 1843, Dec. 31; '45, March 19.
Jose de S. Agostinho	... 1845, Apr. 11—1869, Nov. 12, when he died.

The title of Prior, since the death of Frei Jose de S. Agostinho, is used by the Vicar of Bandel as a purely honorific one.

Our list of the Bandel Priors, as also that of the Chinsura Vicars, is merely tentative. We have compiled them by means of the notes about "titles," which we took somewhat erratically while searching the registers. On piecing these notes together, our wonder is that they dovetail at all into some sort of succession. In some places there is overlapping of dates; but we cannot remedy this now, as we have not the registers at hand.

CH. VII.—VICARS OF CHINSURA.

Padre Manoel (da Assumpção?)	... 1751, Jan. 4. A dispensation for a marriage is obtained from Fr. (Francisco?) da Assumpção, Vicar da Vara, and from Fr. Manoel of "Chenchura." (<i>Chandernagar Marriage Reg.</i> , 1694-1779).
Manoel da Assumpção	... 1751, May 15—1764.

Jose das onze mil Virgens (1 ^o)	... 1764-70.
Padre João Armenio (the Armenian)...	1770, (1771, 1772).
Raymundo de S. Rita	... 1772.
João de S. Nicolão (1 ^o)	... 1774.
Padre Caetano Francisco de Souza	... 1777 (May-July).
João de S. Nicolão (2 ^o)	... 1777.
(As far as I observed, Vol. 4 of the Bandel Registers, from which the above dates are taken, mentions no one else at Chinsura between 1778 and 1821).	
Jose das onze mil Virgens (2 ^o)	... 1779, Febr. 1. (Cf. in <i>Chandernagar obits.</i>)
Jeronimo da Purificação	... 1789, Jan. 6. (<i>Chandernagar Bapt. Reg.</i>)
Antonio de S. Jose	... 1793, Sept. 2.
Manoel do Rozario (1 ^o)	... 1798, May 3-1804, Dec.
Francisco dos Prazeres (1 ^o)	... 1803, Jan.-1809.
Manoel do Rozario (2 ^o)	... 1809, July-1817, Jan. 24.
Francisco dos Prazeres (2 ^o)	... 1817, Febr. 10-1818.
Antonio de S. Maria	... 1818-1820, Oct.
Luís de S. Rita	... 1820, Nov.-1827, Apr. 11, when he died.
Antonio da Virgem Maria Teixeira	... 1827-'29.
Fructuoso de S. Agostinho	... 1829.
Fulgencio de S. Rita	... 1830-'42.
Padre Joaquim das Neves Rebello Videira	... 1842-'53.
Padre Lazaro Fortunato de Souza	... 1854-'73.
Padre M. Jerome	... 1876.
Padre Diogo Lourenço de S. Maria	... 1879.

APPENDIX A.

NAMES OF SOME EARLIER MISSIONARIES IN BENGAL.

Having collected a number of scattered references to early Missionaries in Bengal, we shall mention here only those in which non-Jesuits or non-Capuchins are alluded to. Mixed up with them may be found some passages containing traces of early Christianity, which require fixing, if they are not to escape our attention again. As much as possible, we avoid repeating what has already been told by the Rev. Fr. H. Josson, S. J., in his *Histoire de la Mission du Bengale* (Cf. *Missions Belges*, Bruxelles, Aug. 1913-Aug. 14), and we make it a point to explore for the moment chiefly printed authorities. We

stop short about 1756, because from that date the still extant Registers, of which we have made a special study, will yield nearly all the names of the Clergy.

Father Kircher says that he obtained from Fr. Henry Roth, S. J., the Agra Missionary, an itinerary of St. Thomas' travels, translated from the Syriac into Latin. Though he does not quote it textually, the following passage containing a mention of Bengal may be based on it: "From Caphurstan [Kafiristan] St. Thomas is said to have gone to Lesser Guzarat, which is not far from the Kingdom of Casmir [Kashmir], of which we spoke above, a three days' journey northwards from Lahor; from there he is said to have travelled across the mountains of Tibet, making long circuits towards Bengala, and to have reached at last Meliapor through the Kingdom of Deccan." I need scarcely add that this passage affords no proof in my opinion that St. Thomas ever visited Bengal. Cf. Kircher, *China illustrata*, Amstelodami, MD. C. LXVII, pp. 90-91. The document in Fr. H. Roth's possession does not seem to have been Fr. João Maria Campori (S. J.)'s Latin translation of the Syriac Breviary of the St. Thomas Christians in Malabar; for it does not tally with the allusions made to it by Father Trigault in his *De Christiana Expeditione apud Sinas*, Augustae-Vindob., MDCXV, lib. 1, cap. XI, pp. 124-126.

When St. Francis Xavier arrived at Goa on May 6, 1542, Ceylon had not yet a Mission properly so called. Fr. John de Villa-Conde, with six other Franciscans, had just arrived in the island. The chief bonzes met at Dinawacca to discuss the new religion which was being preached in the country. One of the bonzes, openly declaring that the doctrine of metempsychosis was erroneous, was condemned to be deported to Arakan, where the chief bonze would pass judgment on him. While awaiting a ship at Trincomali, he was frequently visited by Christians, especially one John da Silva, who called from the neighbouring coast of India Fr. Francis Antunes, by whom he was baptised. Shortly after, the bonze was taken to Arakan. "Placed before his judges, he refused to answer their arguments. He said that, while yet a Buddhist, he had discussed with the Buddhists the question of the transmigration of souls; now that he was a Christian, he would not dispute with them; but, if they wished, he would teach them the doctrine of Christ." He was martyred on Dec. 5, 1543. (Cf. Mgr. L. M. Zaleski, *Martyrs de l'Inde*, Desclée, DeBrouwer et Cie, MCM, pp. 71-73; no reference given.)

The news of St. Francis Xavier's death (1552) reached Goa by way of Bengal. From 1557, when Cochin was made into an episcopal see suffragan to Goa, Bengal became dependent on Cochin, and from that date it must have been visited by Missionaries from Cochin. We mean especially Chittagong, the first Portuguese settlement in Bengal. The first Missionaries whom we know

by name were Jesuits: Father Anthony Vaz and Peter Dias, who came in 1576. Anthony Vaz was still in Bengal in 1579. In March 1578, Padre Julian Pereira, a secular Priest sent from Cochín, and Vicar of Satganws, was called to Akbar's Court at Fatehpur Sikri.

In 1590, a Greek sub-deacon, Leo Grimon, who has gone to Akbar's Court on his way back to his country, came to invite the Jesuits of Goa to Lahore, where Akbar then resided. We surmise that this Greek sub-deacon has gone to Lahore from the Farther East, presumably through Bengal. In 1603, he accompanied as far as Kabul Brother Benedict Goes, S. J., the intrepid explorer of Cathay. (Cf. *J. A. S. B.*, 1896, pp. 60, 65).

There was at least one secular priest at Hugli when Fathers Francis Fernandes, S. J., and Dominic de Sousa, S. J., arrived there on May 28, 1598. We can also gather from the letters of Fathers Francis Fernandez and Melchior Fonseca (inserted in Pimenta's Relation) that the Portuguese of Bakla had been visited in 1593, those of Chandecan in 1596 or 1597, and those of Dianga (near Chittagong) in 1598.

Fr. Francis Fernandes, S. J., writing from Bengal to his Provincial at Goa, Fr. Nicolas Pimenta, (14 Jan. 1599), says that he sends to Goa two young men of good promise (*ingenuos*) destined for the College of Santa Fe; he promises also to send two more at the end of the year, according to the instructions he had received at his departure from Cochín. These boys were not the first who had gone for their studies from Bengal to Goa. In the beginning of November 1556, there were in the College 110 boys, divided into 13 classes: Portuguese, mestiços, "Malabars," Chinese, Bengalis, etc. (Cf. H. Jossion, S. J., *Missions Belges*, Aug. 1913, p. 293.) We have the names of 5 of these boys in 1556: Filipe, Guaspar de Deos, Antonio do Ermo, Pedro, and another Pedro. (Cf. *Ibid.*, Sept. 1913, p. 331.)

Fr. Gaspar of the Assumption, a Dominican, was massacred in Malabar on his way from Bengal to Goa in 1597. It was probably in Arakan that Brother Paul, a Dominican lay-brother, was killed while exhorting several Portuguese to die for their faith (1598). Fr. Gaspar de Sa, a Portuguese Dominican, also announced the faith in Bengal. Fontana gives two versions of his death. Either on his way from Bengal to Goa, where he went to call for new auxiliaries, he was run through with a lance by an infidel with whom he was travelling and whom he tried to convert (1603), or after having left Bengal for the island of Sotor, and going from that Mission to Goa, he was taken by the Muhammadans of Achin (Sumatra), and killed with Fr. Manoel de Lamburans (1601). Cf. Henrion, *Hist. générales des Missions*, II, 188, referring to Fontana's *Monumenta Dominicana*.

"The King of Candecan (which lyeth at the mouth of Ganges) caused a Jesuite to rehearse the *Decalogus*: who when he reproved the Indians for

their polytheism, worshipping so many *Pagodas*.¹ He said, that they observed them but as, among them, their Saints were worshipped: to whom how savoury the Jesuites distinction of *douleia* and *latreia* was for his satisfaction I leave to the Reader's judgment. This King, and the others of Bacala and Arracan, have admitted the Jesuites into their Countries, and most of these Indian Nations.² We leave to the Reader's judgment why so many of these Kings admitted the Jesuits at all, and we hope to come some day on the Jesuits' version of this interesting little episode.

Between 1593 and 1 Oct. 1595, Dom Fr. André de S. Maria, Bishop of Cochín and Administrator of the Archbishopric of Goa, represented to His Majesty that, as he was in the habit of visiting his diocese every year, and Pegu and Bengal were too remote, Mailapur should be erected into a bishopric. (Cf. *Mitras Lusitanus*, Pt. I, Lisboa, 1894, p. 80.) At the request of the King, Paul V, by his bull *Hodie Sanctissimus* of Jan. 9, 1606, erected Mailapur into a suffragan bishopric of Goa, its jurisdiction extending over the lands of the Naique, Tanjore, Negapatam, Masulipatam, Bengal, Tenasserim and the intermediate countries (*ibid.*, p. 95.)

Fr. Sebastian Manrique, O. S. A., in his *Itinerario delas Misiones del India Oriental* or *Itinerario Oriental*—to quote the running title—(Rome, 1649 & 1653), states that at the request of Pedro Tavares, the Captain and Founder of Golim (Hugli), five Augustinian Hermits were sent out by the Bishop of Cochín, Dom Fr. Andres de Santa Maria, of the Order of Friars Minor [1599]. Their Superior was Fray Bernardo de Jesus³—I preserve the Spanish spelling of these proper names—and in his absence Fray Juan de la Cruz (cf. p. 15).⁴ A Church was begun at once on the day of Our Lady's Assumption, i. e., Aug. 15 (p. 16), and, shortly after, seven other Augustinians were sent from Cochín.⁵ They started a Church at Angelim (Hijili) and another in the Bandel or Portuguese settlement of Banja (p. 17). The same year (date not given), they obtained permission to build a Church at Piple (Pipli), and somewhat later at Dacca, where the Christians were settled in the suburbs of Manaxor, Narandin, and Pulgari (*ibid.*). Other

1. Idols.

2. Cf. Purchas' *Description of India*, ch. 3, quoted from J. Talboys Wheeler's *Early Travels in India*, Calcutta, 1864, p. 13.

3. In this Manrique agrees with J. Sicardo, O. S. A., *Christianidad del Japon*, Madrid, 1698, Ch. III.

4. There is little doubt that Manrique's Fray Juan de la Cruz is the saint who was wounded at the siege of Hugli and who died at Goa in 1638. (Cf. *Bengal: Past & Present*, 1915, Vol. X, passim in our article *A Week at the Bandel Convent, Hugli*, pp. 36-120.) But, I believe I have seen somewhere that Frei João de Cruz came to Bengal in the first decade of the 17th century.

5. Manrique says they came the very next year after the first batch. But it is clear to me that Manrique did not know the year when the first batch arrived.

Churches followed soon at Catabro, Siripur (to the North of Chittagong), and Noricul (p. 18).

"The conversion of so many souls made by the Fathers of St. Augustine, in the years 1601 & 1602, may be read in a Relation sent by the Bishops, and the Viceroy of the East Indies, which was printed at Rome, in the year 1606. It is related therein that two Fathers of St. Augustine, preaching to the Pottagense, in the Kingdom of Bengala, baptised that year alone, sixty-two thousand six hundred and six [62,606] persons. In the same way, in a country called Ugolin [Hugli], eight hundred and fifty-four persons were converted through the preaching of one of the same Fathers, called Father Leonard of Grace."¹

For the short period 1601-1657 we have the names of 6 Dominicans who laboured at Chittagong and along the Meghna. Fathers Gaspar d'Assumpção, Belchior da Luz, João das Chagas, Manoel de Gama, Gaspar d'Andrade, and Francisco do Avelar. On two occasions Fr. Francisco d'Annuniação went to Arakan, once from Siriam (Pegu), in 1607, and once from Goa in 1620. (Cf. *Bengal: Past & Present*, 1914, Vol. IX, pp. 1-5; 5 n.t.)

Fr. André-Marie [Meynard], O. P., writes in his *Missions Dominicaines dans l'Extrême Orient*, Lyon-Paris, Beauché, 1865, Vol. I, p. 99, that Fr. Belchior da Luz died a glorious death during a journey to Goa, whither he was going in search of new Missionaries; but see *Bengal: Past & Present*, 1914, Vol. IX, p. 2 n.t., where he is said to have been drowned while travelling on a river in Bengal.

Fr. André-Marie Meynard, O. P., also states (*ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 99-100) that Fathers Francisco d'Annuniação, Antonio Olivares, and several others entered Pegu in 1604, built there two churches and a seminary, and drew many of the infidels to the faith. Fr. Francisco d'Annuniação had gone to Goa, when in 1613 the King of Ava laid siege to Siriam and took it from Filippe de Britto. On that occasion Frey Manoel Ferruyra, a Dominican, was killed, while his confrère, Frey Gonçalo, surnamed *o Grande*, was carried off into captivity. (Cf. Fr. Luis de Caezas & Fr. Luis de Sousa, O. P., *Historia de S. Domingos*, Pt. III, pp. 354-355.)² "George des Ursins [Orsini] of the illustrious family

1. Cf. F. Giosuino Grassini (a Carmelite), *Zeila della Propagazione della Fede*, Trattato di Iugus Spaguenolo in Italiana, Roma, Stefano Paolini, 1610, p. 7. This relation printed at Rome in 1606 appeared the same year in Paris: *Relation authentique recueillie par les jésuites, vicomte, grand chancelier et secrétaire de l'Évêque des Indes à S. M. Catholique*, Paris, François Huby, 1606, 8vo. (Cf. Ternaux-Compans *Biblioth. Asiatique*, Paris, 1861, p. 107, No. 430). Can any one direct us to a copy of that Relation?

2. C. C. de Nazareth, *Mitras Lusitanas*, Pt. III, Bombay, 1888, p. 204, says of Fr. Manoel Ferreira that he was a professed Dominican, and a Knight of the Order of Christ, and that his death occurred in April 2, 1613. References: *Apel Luz*, II, 59, 77, 96, 81; and *Dicc. pop.*, VIII, 422.

of that name, was surprised by the barbarians at the altar and escaped death miraculously (1627).¹

In 1606, Dom Frei Andre de S. Maria, Bishop of Cochin, had a juridical process made concerning the story of a Bengali who already in 1537 was believed by the Portuguese to be 330 years old, and who had reappeared in Bengal in 1605. The information was sent to King Philip IV of Castille, and printed at Madrid. Somewhat later, two Franciscans, Frs. Eleutherio de Santiago and Christovão da Conceição "went to Bengala to preach the holy Gospel to the Gentoos and Moors of that Kingdom, and, knowing this man's long life, they sought him out, spoke with him and learnt whatever

1. Fr. André-Marie Meynard, O. P., *Op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 100, referring to Fontana, *Mem. Dom.*—The family of the Orsini gave to the Order of St. Dominic several illustrious Religions, several Cardinals and a Pope, Benedict XIII. As I am particularly interested in the origin of Christianity in Burma, I note here (as *excellent memoria*) some points gleaned from Casimiro Christovão de Nazarath's *Mitras Esclavas no Oriente*, [Pt. I & II] 2a edição, Lisboa 1897.

"Frei Pedro Bouter [read Bouter], Frey Pedro Sauscio and Frei Francisco das Chagas, [Franciscans], founded chiefly in 1557 a Mission in the Kingdom of Ava, and built 9 Churches and 7 Chapels. (*Op. cit.*, p. 127.) In 1555, a Franciscan, evidently Pedro Bouter, passed through Malapur on his way to Pegu and Siam, while the same year a Dominican set out from Malapur for Carabodia. (Cf. J. A. Polanco, S. J., *Chronicon Soc. Jesu*, tom. VI, 723. No 2227 in the collection of *Monumenta Historica Soc. Jesu*, Madrid.) We know also that Pedro Bouter spent three years at Coiml (Bassein), Pegu, and that he left in 1557, discouraged at the little success he had obtained. (Cf. de Jarric, S. J., *Hist. des Choses plus mémorables*... Bokrodeas, Vol. 2, MDCVIII, Liv. 2, Ch. 23, p. 612 or my Bibliographical Notes on Catholic Missionaries in Burma, Rangoon, British Burma Press, 1914 (Supplement to *The Voice*, Febr. 1914, pp. 5-9.) De Jarric also says that between 1557 and 1600, when the Jesuits came to Burma, he had discovered no other vestiges of Missionary activity in Burma. Dom Fr. Domingos Ferrada, Archbishop of Goa, in a *Povendo* of 1612 declares—on what authority?—that the Religions of St. Dominic had been the first preachers of the Gospel in the lands of Pegu, wherefore, so long as they reside there, the Rector (*presidente*) of the house should have the duties and title of Father of the Christians, as also a certain subvention which His Majesty is wont to give in India for the maintenance of the Catechumens. (*Mitras Esclavas*, *op. cit.*, [Pt. I & II], p. 115.) After their expulsion by the English from Surat, the French Capuchins established Missions in Junk-Ceylon, Quidda, Burma and Pegu (p. 128.) Clement IX by his brief *Christi fideium* of 1669 (I) annexed the Kingdom of Pegu and Goiconda. As Vicariate Apostolic of Vijapur (p. 180.) Frei Antonio da Purificação was visitor of Ava and Pegu in 1740? Cf. *ibid.*, Pt. III, 1888, p. 45. He is the famous Bishop of Halcarnassus, of whom there is question *ibid.*, [Pt. I & II], 1897, p. 279. On Febr. 2, 1742, the Portuguese Government of Goa reports to the Court of Lisbon the differences that have arisen between the Franciscan (Capuchins) and a Propaganda Bishop in the Mission of Ava and Pegu (p. 183.) Frei Antomomodo S. Boaventura, a Franciscan, was killed in 1750, "por industria do religioso Barnabita Francez," whom the King had ordered to be killed (*ibid.*, Pt. III, p. 208, with references to *Hist. des Miss. Cathol.*, IV 284, and *Obras do Arch. Armazim*, III 243-4). The fact alluded to occurred probably in 1755, when a Portuguese priest was killed instead of Bishop Netim who was executed afterwards. In 1753 the Mission of Ava and Pegu was cut off from the Diocese of Malapur and erected into a Vicariate Apostolic (p. 276).

has been said.¹ This aged "Bengala" is said to have died only in 1618.²

Friar Eleuterio de Santiago is identical with Eleuterio di San Giacomo, who in 1605 visited Arakan with Friar Giovanni della Corda. "Aracan was formerly a Kingdom, like so many others, and, at the time we are speaking of, the King of it had subjected also Bengala,³ a part of which he yielded to the famous Emmanuele di Matos, the Captain of the Portuguese in the great port of the same name.⁴ Their friendship made it easy to the Fathers to enter both Kingdoms.⁵ They were received with great rejoicings and the Captain himself accompanied them among the pagans for the sake of conciliating to them their reverence. And, indeed, when they saw them so much honoured by so gallant a Captain, they thought they must be men of great merit, and that the Religion they preached must be holy. As they were going barefooted, di Matos thought it proper to explain why they did so. 'Do not marvel,' he said, 'that these holy men go barefooted; they do so because they despise earthly things and aim at things heavenly. In fact I should consider myself honoured in being allowed to wash their feet.' The country was very corrupt: the pagans were steeped in their centuries-old superstitions; the Portuguese were tainted with every form of vice, as if they had lost all religion, and not one of them had for fully eight years approached the Sacraments.⁶ The preaching of the two Fathers shook them so strongly, however, that in a short time the Colony became truly Christian. Presently, conversions followed among the pagans, many of whom received baptism, and they asked that a Church should be built for themselves at a place where the Fathers had previously planted a big Cross, St. Francis' Cross, as it was called, for which they conceived an extraordinary devotion. But, as always, the devil was intent on destroying and annihilating this new Christian flock. The King of Aracan, fearing that Emmanuele di Matos intended to deliver up

1. Cf. *Prés Jachtho de Dios, Vergel de Plantas e Flores*, Lisboa, 1690, Ch. I, art. V, pp. 39-40. We have made a special study of the case of this Bengala. In 1605 there appeared at Salamanca *Informacion de un Indio de Bengala que vive 400 años*, which must be identical with *Histoires miraculeuses et très certaines, envoyée à frère André de Ste. Marie, Esclave de Cochin, en laquelle est rapporté qu'un Indien de Portugal se trouva un homme marié âgé de 360 ans. Le présent discours imprimé à Salamanca, Naples, Pologne, Bologne, Venise, et Milan. Traduct d'Italien en François par le Sieur François de Veselier*, Paris, Estienne Perin, 1617, 8°.—Can any one direct us to a copy of one of these publications?

2. *Viz.*, that part of it which was about Chittagong.

3. Chittagong, which the Portuguese called *Porto Grande*—the Great Port, in contradistinction from *Porto Pequeno*, the small harbour, along the Hugli.

4. Bengal and Arakan.

5. This is exaggerated, if it applies to Chittagong and Dianga, which had been visited by the Jesuits and the Dominicans in 1601-02.

the whole Kingdom of Bengala to his compatriots, called him to his court with the two Franciscans. Seeing the lowly garb of the Fathers, he was surprised, and his wonder grew, when, on being offered gold, they refused it. This alone, he said to those who surrounded him, was enough to convince him that their teaching was true, for they could not go about so poorly and so disdainful of earthly goods, unless their heart was in heaven. However, this did not save *di Matos*, for the tyrant, persuaded that he was betraying him, had him poisoned. The Fathers remained unmolested in the Mission, and, though the Portuguese who possessed the Port and City of Bengala [Chittagong] determined to avenge the death of *di Matos*, the King gave the Fathers no trouble; on the contrary, he sent to them Father Giovanni with terms of peace, and kept Father Eleuterio near him, consulting him daily, promising him to receive the faith and let himself be baptised, and allowing him to build a Church in that very place. Even some *Rolins*¹ (as the priests of that country are called) became Christians, and all who met him on the way bowed to him with the greatest reverence. He had become the great apostle of that people, the *Mogos*.²

Bernier, speaking of the piratical exploits of the Mughls and Portuguese of Chittagong, before the fall of Hugli (1632), says that these pirates took the island of Sandwip, at the mouth of the Meghna: "On this spot, the notorious *Fra Joan*, an Augustine monk, reigned, as a petty sovereign, during many years; having contrived, God knows how, to rid himself of the Governor of the island." (Cf. Bernier, *Travels*, Comestable's edition, 1891, pp. 178-179.)

This story needs confirmation, as also a similar one in Manucci, by whom Sebastião Gonsalves Tibão, the notorious adventurer, who flourished in 1607-15, is credited with helping in the capture of Chittagong in 1666: "They [the Portuguese pirates] were proud of their Christianity, but had of it no more than the name. Such was their cruelty that they did not spare the priests who lived among them and were very little different from themselves. There were then [1666?] alive some who had known a priest of some religious order who had acted as their leader. He went clothed in scarlet, and was called *Fr. Vicente*, who, recommended by a letter from *Sháh Sujá*, came to Bengal and died there of poison." (Cf. Manucci, *Storia do Mogor*, II, 117-118.)

1. Buddhist monks. See the word used by *Parado Mendez Pinto* (died 1554) in *Sir H. Yule's Hobson-Jobson*, s. v. *Talapoin*.

2. i. e., the Mughls. Cf. *da Soledade, História*, lib. V, part III, Cap. XXI, quoted by P. Mascollino da Cruz, M. O., *Storia Universale delle Missioni Francescane*, Firenze, E. Ariani, 1894, Lib. VII, Part III, Cap. IV, pp. 197-198.

Fr. João and Fr. Vicente would seem to have lived far apart: the former about the time of Sebastião Gonçalves Tibão; the latter, long before 1666; but, then, what about the letter received by him from Sháh Sujá? Perhaps, the story of Fr. Vicente is mixed up with reminiscences of Bernier's Fr. João, and the power attributed to this Friar João might be merely a reminiscence of the power granted by the King of Arakan to the Franciscan Friar Giovanni della Corda. João and Giovanni meaning both John. We may also compare this story with the visit to Sháh Sujá by Frei Agostinho de Jesus about 1635 (Cf. *infra*).

"In articles 4 and 7 of the Treaty concluded on April 23, 1620, between the King of Arakan, through his Ambassadors Parsamagrama, Chanda-Suria and Changui, and Don Ferrão de Albuquerque, Governor of the Estado, it was agreed that the Missionaries could freely exercise their ministrations in the Bandel [of Chittagong?], and its dependencies. The King, moreover, promised them his help and favour, in imitation of the Kings of Mogor, Cochín and others, in the matter of erecting Churches within his dominions, and would contribute towards their erection." (Cf. *Anaes Marit.*, Lisboa, 1843, p. 374).

The same embassy is related in the following passage: "In 1620 three Ambassadors of the King of Arracão presented themselves at Goa. They had been sent to ask peace from the Viceroy Dom João Continho, Count de Redondo. And, as he had died, the Embassy appeared before the Governor, Fernão d' Albuquerque, who succeeded him, and with him they settled a solemn agreement of peace. And, as it was proper that some person in authority should accompany them on their return to determine with the King certain points which the Ambassadors reserved for his decision, the Governor called Frey Francisco d' Annunção,¹ and entrusted the matter to him, giving him at the same time the charge and power to elect as Captain of the Portuguese residing at the Great Port (*Porto Grande*) of Bengala a person acceptable both to himself and to the King of the country. The Father transacted the business with great profit to the Estado, and in addition he delivered from captivity sixty Portuguese inhabitants of the Small Port (*Porto Pequeno*) [Hugli] of Bengala, whom the [King of] Arracão kept in chains, because in the past troubles and wars they had sided against him with the Great Mogor, otherwise called Aquabar."² (Cf. Fr. Luis Categas and Fr. Luis de Sousa's *Hist. de S. Domingos*, Part III, Lisboa, 1767, p. 356).

"At Bengalla, Fr. Emmanuel de la Esperanza, Vicar of Angrealm [Angelim, Hijili], and Fr. Francis de la Piedad, and in 1625 Fr. Didacus de la

1. The Dominicans mentioned above.

2. Akbar. The name is probably used here dynastically for Jahangir. Akbar had died in 1605. There are other instances where Akbar's name is used thus for Jahangir.

Concepción and others had trial of mockeries and stripes for Christ, but rejoicing that they were accounted worthy to suffer reproach for the name of Jesus." (Cf. Fr. Thomas de Herrera, *Alphab. August.*, Madrid, 1644, l. 323, Col. 1.)

"The Augustinian Fathers laboured with much fruit in the Kingdom of Bengala, where they have many Churches, and the Lord does not fail to console them and other Christians with suffering persecution, as happened to Fr. Emanuele della Speranza, Vicar of Angelim, who had collected the Christians in a place where they might live separate from the Gentiles and the Mahomettans; these conceived against him such a violent hatred that they imprisoned him three times. Freed at last, his enemies again shut him up in a stable with Father Francesco della Pietà, who was going to the Ganges; here they suffered extreme discomforts, but not to encounter death for their Redeemer was the worst encounter, the Barbarians grudging it them. They did not grudge it, however, to five Christian soldiers, who, being thrown into prison, courageously confessed the faith before the tribunal, and were by their unjust judge condemned to death for refusing to acknowledge the impostor Mahomed, or to bend the knee before the idols of the country. Having their throats cut by the executioners, they plucked the palm of their victorious faith. These Triumphs took place in 1626, and Fr. Bernardo di Giesù gave fitting burial to their bodies, which he carried elsewhere, lest they should become the prey of wild animals or be exposed to the insults of the wicked. In 1621 Fr. Diego della Concettione had also occasion to display his constancy; he was confined in such a rigorous captivity that, to feed him, the charity of the Christians was forced to overcome with large presents the jailor's stubbornness. The Father Vicar of Angelim was also imprisoned." (Cf. Michelangelo Lualdi, *L'Indie Orientale soggettata al Vangelo*, Roma, Ignatio de Luzzari, MDCLIII, pp. 348—349.)

In 1626, a virulent plague carried off, besides four Jesuits, two at least of the Augustinians of Hugli, viz., Father Michael de los Santos, once Administrator of the Bishopric of China, and Father Agustin de Jesus, lately arrived from Portugal. (Cf. Herrera, *Op. cit.*)

Two years later, on May 6, four Augustinians were sent out to Bengal from Cochín. They were Fathers Freis Sebastian Manrique, Manuel de la Assumpción, Diego Catela, and Gregorio de los Angeles. (Cf. Manrique, *Op. cit.*, p. 2.)

On their arrival in Bengal, Fr. Emmanuel de la Esperanza was Superior of the Mission (Cf. p. 6). Their chief house in Bengal was that of St.

Nicholas de Tolentino, at Hugli (p. 23). Here the new Missionaries studied Bengali and Hindustani. At the end of 1629, Manrique found at Dianga, a suburb of Chittagong, Fr. Domingos de la Purificación, who for seven years had not seen a fellow-priest (p. 34). At Angaracale, three leagues from Dianga, Manrique lost, soon after, one of his companions, Fr. Manuel de la Concepción (p. 35). During the five years he was in Arakan he baptised with Fr. Manuel de la Concepción and Fr. Diego Coulam [of Quilon?] 11,407 souls at Dianga and Angaracale; during the eight years previous, Fr. Domingos de la Purificación, the Prior, with Fr. Ector de los Angeles, Fr. Agustín de Jesus, Fr. Francisco de las Llagas, and Fr. Matteo had baptised 17,090 persons at the same two ports (pp. 152-153). Total: 28,497 baptised out of a total of 42,000 slaves dragged in Bengal to Dianga and Angaracale in 13 years, i.e., from 1622 to 1635. During the same period baptism was conferred on 5,111 persons of the country or foreigners. During the same period, too, Fr. Manuel Bautista, Fr. Agustín de Jesus and his companion had baptised 1934 souls at Siriam, near the present town of Rangoon (p. 161).

Another Augustinian Missionary in Arakan was Padre Fr. Rafael de Santa Monica, who had become very proficient in the languages of the Mughls and the Peguans (p. 164); another, at Hugli, was Fr. Antonio de San Vicente (pp. 171-172).¹

We know the names of four of the Augustinians of Hugli during the siege of 1632: Fr. Gregorio de los Angeles, killed on the river,² Fr. Juan de la Cruz, Fr. Antonio de Christo and Fr. Francisco de la Encarnación. Adrian Diaz, a secular priest of Cochín, was also killed on the river, and Fr.

1. I place here on record the existence of a book containing probably information on the Augustinian Missions of Bengal: *Braveros das Christandades que os Religiosos de S. Agostinho tem a sua conta nas partes de Oriente*, Lisbon, 1630. Cf. *Missa Lusit.* Pt. I, p. 394.

2. "In Bengala, in East India, the brave fight of the Venerable Gregory of the Angels, of Lisbon, who, having gone to India, was received among Ours, and having been made a Priest, went to the Bengala Mission, when, after he had laboured hard in the spiritual ministry, the Moors, who on this day profaned the sacred edifices of the town of Ugolin [Hugli] and killed many, pierced him with arrows and opened for him the gates of Heaven." Thus Joseph ab Assumptione under May 24 in his *Martyrologio Augustiniano*, l. 2, p. 243. In his Commentaries for the same day the same author writes (*Martyrol. August.*): "The Venerable Gregory of the Angels, born at Lisbon, went to India, where he received the habit in our Congregation in the year 1619. Having become a Priest, he was sent to the Mission of Bengala, where he laboured much for the conversion and instruction of the Gentiles, until he was pierced with arrows and killed by hatred of the faith by the Moors, who invaded the town of Ugolin on the day of St. John the Baptist, a Thursday of the year 1632. Thus in the MS. *Braveros verum Indiarum*, pt. 2, Notice 18, fol. 185. My Brother M[aster] Fr. Francis a S. Maria mentions him in his Annals." (Note sent by Fr. Thérèse Lopez, O. S. A., and translated from the Latin.) The martyrdom took place neither in May nor in June, but at the very end of September 1632.

Bernardo de Jesus, the Vicar of Dacca, was beaten to death at Dacca, about the time of the siege of Hugli.

The Catholic population of Hugli was estimated at about 10,000 in 1632. In addition to the clergymen named above, there were 7 Jesuits: Fathers Anthony Rodrigues, Rector of the Hugli "College," John Cabral, Louis Orlandini, Manoel Coelho, Ignatius Fialho, Manoel Secco, and Brother John Rodrigues, and 6 or 7 secular Priests, three of whom are known by name: Adrian Dias (mentioned above), and Padres Manoel Garcia and Manoel d'Anhaya. (Cf. *Bengal: Past & Present*, Vol. X, pp. 43-44.)

In 1635, the Augustinian in charge of Banja was Fr. Diego de la Concepción, then 69 years old, who had been 51 years in Religion and 28 years a Missionary in Bengal. At Pipli, in 1636, Manrique found Fr. Sebastian de los Martires, and Fr. Baltasar de Santa Ursula (Cf. Manrique, *Op. cit.*, pp. 249, 246, 251). About this time Fr. Agustin de Jesus came to Bengal, where he composed certain differences that had arisen between the Mogul Emperor and the Portuguese. (Sicardo, *Christ. del Japon*, p. 24, and *Bengal: Past & Present*, 1915, Vol. X, p. 109 n. 2.)

In 1640, Fr. Juan de la Trinidad was ministering to the Christians of Dacca, and Fr. Antonio de Christo, a prisoner at Agra since 1633, was liberated in 1641. (Cf. Manrique, *Op. cit.*, p. 324). On Sept. 21, 1646, we find Fr. Antonio de Christo at Masulipatan; in 1650 he was Vicar and Provincial of the Augustinians at Goa. Cf. Bartolomeo Ferro, *Historia delle Missioni del Chierici Regolari Teatini*, Roma, 1704, Tom. II, 126, Col. 2; and Manucci, *Storia do Mogor*, III, 464-467.

I do not find in Manrique any allusion to Fr. Baltasar de la Concepción, a successful Missionary at Hugli, nor to Fr. Alipio de San Antonio, who before being a Missionary at Masulipatan had been 14 years a prisoner in Arakan. Both are mentioned by Sicardo. (Cf. Sicardo, *Christ. del Japon*, Ch. III). Sicardo mentions also Fr. Juan Battista and Fr. Agustin de Jesus as successful Missionaries in Bengal. They flourished before 1682, as Sicardo had information sent from India in 1682. (*Ibid.*) The latter must be the same Augustinian whose name we have mentioned already several times above.

"Besides the fifteen Parishes, and Churches (*Feligrésias*) or Missions above quoted, all of them, flourishing under the care of our Religious in the Kingdom of Bengala, they [the Augustinians] started propagating the Faith in that of Mogo,¹ and so they passed into Arracán, where they converted many Infidels, and from there they went to the Court of the Mogo King,² where they founded a Church dedicated to Our Lady's Assumption.³ In the

1. Of the Mughals.

2. At the town of Arakan.

3. Manrique relates that, finding no Church at Arakan, he started the erection of a Church dedicated to Our Lady of Good Success (after 1670 and before 1676).

beginning, during fourteen years, they remained in captivity,¹ the King not allowing them to leave his dominions, nor suffering other Religious to enter, because of the war [he was engaged in] against the Great Mogor. Later, he allowed other Religious of our Order to enter the country. Their Christianity [*i.e.*, Mission] consists of about two thousand souls of an age to make their confession (*de confesión*), not counting the Portuguese serving in the ships of that King. The King's son, being prevailed upon by the preaching of Father Fray Sebastián de los Martyres to profess our Law, urged him [the Father] to take him to the lands of the Christians, where he might profess it with greater liberty, for he esteemed it more than his father's riches. In execution of this design, the Father took him to Ugolin [Hugli], where he baptised him and called him Don Martín. Subsequently, he went to Goa, served with much valour on board the fleet, and received as a reward of his services the Habit [of the Order] of Christ, with a pension of forty thousand Reis for the maintenance. After serving as Captain of the Palace of San Lorenzo,² he retired to our College, where he died and was buried in our Church.³ (Cf. J. Sicardo, *Christ. del Japon*, Ch. III.)⁴

Fiar Joseph of Sint Maryg, a Dominican, who had laboured in Siam with Friar Anthony of St. Dominic after 1640, died in Bengal, date unknown. (Cf. Fr. André-Marie [Meynard], O. P., *Missions Dominicaines dans l'Extrême Orient*, *Op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 121-122.)

On Dec. 3, 1650 we hear of the violent death of Fr. Manoel das Chagas, an Augustinian, the Vicar of Dacca. He was beaten to death while hastening to succour some Christians, whom the infidels had taken, and whose fidelity to the faith was in danger. (Cf. Casimiro Christovão de Nazareth, *Mitras Lusitanas*, Bombay, 1888, Pt. III, p. 207, quoting *Estad. biogr.* 215.)

Fr. John Baptist Spinola, a Theatine, came to Hugli in 1660, seeking a field of labour. He found the Augustinians there, worked some time with them and died the same year at Hugli, aged 35 years. (Cf. *Istoria delle Missioni de' Chierici Regolari Teatini*, by Bartolomeo Ferro, Roma, G. F. Boagni, MDCCIV, II, 284-86.)

In 1663 the Vicar of Dacca was one Fr. Agostinho and the Prior of the Bandel of Hugli was Fr. João Bautista (Cf. W. Irvine, Manucci's *Storia de*

1. See no allusion to that under the name of Frei Alípio de S. Antonio above.

2. The Real Madrid.

3. Manrique, who enters into more details about the conversion of the son of the King of Chittagong and of the grandsons of the "Emperor" of Arakan, attributes it to Fray Raphael de Santa Monica. (Cf. Manrique, *Op. cit.*, pp. 162-174.) These conversions must have taken place before 1630, or at any rate before 1632. If the fact can be traced in *Crusentus' Monasticon Augustinianum*, Munich, 1623, the date could be pushed back by a decade at least. C. C. de Nazareth (*Mitras Lusit.*, Pt. III, p. 103) calls the Friar Sebastián de Moraes, and refers us to Card. Saravia, p. 129. Is there no inscription to Dom Martín's memory in the Augustinian Church, Madrid?

4. The 15 Churches alluded to were those of 1682.

Mogor, II, pp. 86, 89). The same year, Fr. Manoel do Rosario, an Augustinian Missionary in Arakan, ransomed the son of the Raja of Busna, near Dacca. Subsequently he converted him and baptised him under the name of Don Antonio. (Cf. *O Chronista de Tisuary*, 1867, p. 57, and *Bengal: Past & Present*, Vol. IX, pp. 40-63).

Manucci relates the story of the martyrdom at Aurangabad of a certain Friar Jacinto, an Augustinian, who after apostatising from the faith, was beheaded under Sháh 'Alam, Babádur. The execution must have taken place in 1665. (Cf. *Storia de Mogor*, II, 169-161, 174; I, lviii). "His body was cast upon a dunghill, and a year afterwards the Portuguese managed to get the bones carried to Goa, the Christians having concealed their intention of burying them until the opportunity arose of which I speak" (*ibid.*, II, 161). This Friar was one of two Augustinians who had fled from Chaul and had been given hospitality by Fr. H. Roth, S. J., at the Agra College (*ibid.*, II, 81). Manucci travelled with them to Hugli via Dacca (1663). At the mouth of the Hugli, they separated, Manucci going to Hugli, and the Friars to Balasore, whence after begging for alms they rejoined Manucci at Hugli (*ibid.*, II, 85, 89, 93).¹

The house of Mathias Vincent, Chief of Kasimbazar, was said to be a resort of Jesuits and papists, a grave offence in the Company's eyes in those days. On Oct. 13, 1676, Streynsham Master examined those of the Company's servants who had been at Kasimbazar during Vincent's residence. The evidence of six witnesses was that, since Vincent's appointment as Chief in 1671, but one priest had been seen in Kasimbazar, a Franciscan Friar, who had passed through the town in 1675 on his way to Agra. "And it is well known to all persons that have lived in Cassambazar that there is noe Convent house or place of Residence for Jesuits or Romish priests to reside in at this town or nearer this place than Hugli." Cf. Sir R. Temple, *Diaries of Streynsham Master*, I, 152, 395.

Between 1679 and 1681 we meet in Bengal, Fr. Julião da Graça, Vicar of Dacca; Fr. Philippe de S. Agostinho, Vicar of Loricul; Fr. João da Natividade, Prior of Hugli; Fr. Sebastião de S. Gualberto, and Padre Simão Luys, probably a secular Priest. (Cf. *O Chronista de Tisuary*, 1866, pp. 316-318). A letter of Fr. Marcos Santacci, S. J., to Fr. Fernão de Queycoas, S. J., Provincial at Goa, (Hugli, 16 Nov. 1680), shows that Frei Julião da Graça was Vicar of Dacca. He was still Vicar of Dacca in 1682. (*Letter by the same to the same Nolvatot*, 21 June 1682. Both letters are MS.)

In 1680, Fathers Bergamoro and Gallo, two Theatines, were called from Bimlipatam to assist in her illness the mother of a certain Dutch Captain at a

1. Manucci's chronology is often confused, and no wonder in a man whose reminiscences of India ranged over so many years. If Friar Jacinto travelled with Manucci in 1663 and was executed in 1665, how could he have lived "many" years as a Muhammadan? Cf. *ibid.*, II, 159.

port not named. There they heard that there lived in Arakan some 700 Christians, who for two years had not had the ministrations of a Priest. The Captain had so far tried in vain to find a Missionary to go and visit them. Father Gallo decided to go with him. On Sept. 14, 1680, they set sail at Corangue (Coringa, near Cocanada), and after a stormy voyage arrived in Arakan on Oct. 5. The name of the town is not mentioned, but it may be supposed it was the town of Arakan itself. The day before, the Christians had just completed a novena in honour of Our Lady, one of their petitions being that she might send them a Missionary. Their Church was made of bamboos, as were all the houses in the country, but it was a very spacious one, consisting of a nave and two aisles. Father Gallo's ministry was blessed with many baptisms. He baptised among others 25 slaves, mostly adults. One day, one of the King's elephants breaking loose destroyed several houses and killed a number of persons, among them the most influential Christian of the place. Father Gallo stayed there till the next Christmas, on which day he re-embarked. The return was so rapid that on New Year's day 1681 he was back at Bimlipatam. (Cf. Bartolomeo Ferro, *Storia delle Missioni de' Chierici Regolari Teatini*, Vol. II, pp. 445-451).¹ In 1735, the Mission of Arakan was without a Priest, and it was feared that no entrance could be obtained there. (Cf. *Bengal: Past & Present*, Vol. IX, p. 45, n. 1.)

A Relation published in *Analista Augustiniana*, (l. Via del S. Uffizio, Rome), should yield most of the names of the Augustinians in Bengal in 1682. It was found in Cod. Aa 42 of the Augustinian Archives and appeared in Vol. IV (1911-12), 383, 407, 430, 456, 477; Vol. V (1913-14), 17, 37, 63, also p. 138. It deals largely with Antonio of Buena and the movement of conversion among our Native Christians of Dacca and the neighbourhood.²

1. We place here on record what we think to be a reference to an Armenian Priest. On Sept. 5, 1683, William Hodges acknowledges a present of "Wine, strong waters, of Russia, Oyle, Achore, Rose Water distilled with muske, sugared Blisset, Caviare and divers sorts of excellent good fruit, sent from Spahan [Isfahan] by Signr. Zacharia, the Armenian Father. This Zacharia is a merchant who came passenger on ye. *Swallow* with me from Bengall [1683]." (Sir H. Yule, *Diaries of W. Hodges*, I, 209.)

We also take this occasion to add a note to our previous researches in *Bengal: Past & Present*, Vol. VII, on early Christian Missions in the Nicobars. In 1687 Captain Waliden spent some time at the Nicobar Islands, "and brought a Spanish priest thence with his observations upon the people, leaving another behind to Convert the ignorant inhabitants." Cf. C. R. Wilson, *Early Annals of the English in Bengal*, II, Pt. I, p. III.

2. Padre C. C. de Nazareth (*Missiones Lusitanas*, Pt. I, Lisbon, 1894, p. 185), and place between 1675 and 1681 "the proceedings taken by Frei José Mascarenhas, Vicar da Vara at Panapelly (Bengalia) against the Thomase Castano Meyaldino, a Missionary sent by Propaganda, who tried to introduce himself as Vicar into that settlement, and he threatened him with excommunication if he did not desist from his action, which you counter to the *fulcrum* of the Portuguese Crown." We

In 1689, Fr. Julian da Graça was Prior of Bandel, where he baptised, on May 24, André François Boureau-Deslandes, born at Hugli on May 19, 1689, the absent godfather and godmother, E. Martin and Margaret Colinet, being represented by Jean François Cuperly and Gabriel Pellé. Cf. Manucci, *Storia do Mogor* (ed. by W. Irvine), I, lxxxii.

Fr. Lourenço de S. Nicoláo was martyred in Bengal on Dec. 2, 1692. (Cf. Padre Casimiro Christováo de Nazareth, *Mitr. Lusit.*, Pt. III, 207, quoting *Estud. biogr.*, 316.)

In 1695 Fr. Luis dos Anjos settled several thousands of the converts of Don Antonio do Rosario of Busna in the District of Bhawal. (Cf. *O Chronista de Tissuary*, 1867, p. 58) He died in Sylhet, probably in 1696, and his own brother Frei João de Sahagun, on recovering his remains, had them interred in the Bandel Church of Hugli. (Cf. *ibid.*, 1867, p. 58.)¹

In 1696 Fr. Luiz da Piedade was sent as Visitor to the Missions of Bengal. (Cf. *Mitras Lusitanas*, Pt. III, p. 105).

The Chandernagar Baptism Registers mention one "Père" Caldeira as having conferred a baptism at Kasimbazar in 1596.

The names of a large number of the clergy in Bengal for the first two decades of the 18th century must be contained in *A Jurisdição diocesana de*

remark that Panepelij is not in Bengal. It must be identified with Pentapád, in Taunka Idluk, Godávári District. The place is spelt Pentopoll in Sir R. C. Temple's *Diaries of Streynsham Master* (1675-1680), II, 171. Father Giuseppe Caetano Monaldi was a Missionary at Chicacole and Himlipatam from 1664 till after 1682, the place and exact date of his death being unknown. (Cf. Bartolomeo Ferro, *Storia delle Missioni de' Chierici Regolari Teatini*, Roma, M. DCC. IV, Vol. 2, lib. 4, capp. 8, 9, 10.)

1. By Sylhet we should understand, I think, Bandasil. It is an old Christian settlement still existing. About 1905, there were in Sylhet, 126 Catholics. "The bulk of the Roman Catholic community live at the village of Bandasil, on the left bank of the Burak, a mile below Bodarpur. Their forefathers are said to have been settled there at the beginning of the 18th century by a Muhammadan Nawab, who came from Meerut with a large party of Mussalmans and Native Christians, the latter, according to the village traditions, being employed to serve his guns. Where the Nawab recruited these men history does not relate, but they are said to have built a Fort at Bandasil and to have settled round it. After the Burmese war, the Nawab was rewarded for his loyalty by a grant of land at Banlyachung, the proceeds of which enabled the Roman Catholics of Bandasil to live in idleness. Quarrels broke out in the small community, their land was gradually sold to the surrounding villagers, and most of the people now earn their living by domestic service. Since 1891, there has been a resident Roman Catholic Priest at Bandasil." (Cf. B. C. Allen, C. S., *Assam District Gazetteers*, Vol. II, *Sylhet*, Calcutta, 1905, pp. 91-92.) The traditions of these people are much confused. I have seen 3 or 4 versions of their story, some of these now 60 years old, according to these versions from 150 to 300 years have elapsed from their settling at Bandasil. If they came as gunners, 200 years ago, their ancestors may have been Europeans or Eurasians; lest we do not see how they could have come from Meerut. Perhaps, they were originally at Rangmati on the Brahmaputra, where they would have come at the time of Mir Jumla's invasion of Assam (1661-53). In 1682 we have that the King of Sylhet invites the Jesuits to his country.

Bispado de S. Thomé de Meliapor, por um Portuguez [J. H. da Cunha-Rivara], Nova-Goa, 1867, a very rare and important work for the history of our Bengal Missions.

In 1700, the Rev. Fr. Luis Pereira Pinto was Vicar da Vara in Bengal. (*Chandernagar Marriage Registers*). Manoel de S. Antonio was Vicar-General in Bengal on Dec. 2, 1702 and Jan. 8, 1703; Antonio dos Reis (Salema?) Vicar da Vara on July 12, 1708 (*ibid.*).

A certain Dominican, an Armenian by race, had collected 5,000 pagodas by begging during 12 years that he had wandered about for this purpose in India with the authority of his superiors and under their written orders. He died at Fort St. George, Madras, on Dec. 6, 1703, and committed the money to the Capuchins and others with directions to remit it to Bengal and Persia, finally to be delivered to his Convent. (Cf. Manucci, *Storia de Mogor*, IV. 4, 5). "In the same season [what year?] there arrived from Persia two Armenian Friars of the Order of St. Dominic, one called Friar Minas de Siave, and the other Friar Thomas Abarenes. These Friars had come with the sole object of collecting the money due to Father Domingos deceased, of the same order.....As soon as they had arrived, they endeavoured to recover the money and what was in the hands of the Armenian agents living in Bengal, to whom the deceased had consigned it. Immediately upon the arrival of the Friars, these Armenians handed over the money in their possession, as they were in duty bound to do, if they wished to carry out the will" (*ibid.* IV. 195). Fr Minas de Siave "proceeded to Bengal to realise the money of the deceased Fra Domingo, which had been placed in the hands of the Armenian merchants.....He went to Bengal, but he died there, and the affair came to a standstill." (*ibid.*, IV. 261). Fra Thomas Abaranaguer [*sic*] stopped in Madras where he fell ill and died (*ibid.*)¹ Friar Michel Ange, the Capuchin of Madras, had made over to the two Friars a few things in his custody, but 4,000 patacas in the possession of a renegade [*sic*] Armenian, Kliwajah Ovan of Madras, were not recovered (*ibid.*, IV. 195—196, 261).

Mgr. Louis de Cicé, Bishop of Sabula and Vicar Apostolic of Siam and Japan, wrote a letter on the Chinese rates from Chandernagar on Dec. 25, 1702. Cf. Henrion *Hist générale des Missions*, II, 433 n. 1.)

We have related in *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. VIII, 1914, pp. 54-63, and pp. 166—180, how Abbate Matteo Ripa visited Calcutta, Chandernagar and Bandel in 1709, while on his way to China. His companions were Padre Guglielmo Fabri Bonjour, an Augustinian of Tolosa, Padre Giuseppe Cerù, of the Clerics Minor of Lucca, Padre D. Domenico Perrone, a Neapolitan,

1. About his burial see *ibid.* IV, 357-8. W. Irvine refers the passage wrongly, I think, to the burial of Fr. Domingos in 1703.

and D. Gennaro Amodei. A deaf old Augustinian was in charge of the Church of Our Lady of the Rosary, Murghihata, Calcutta; and, on Ash-Wednesday 1709, there were as many as five Augustinians at the Bandel Church, Hugli.

Padre Manoel do Rozario e Magalhães was Bishop Laines' secretary in 1714, for he signs two of the Bishop's letters: one of Chandernagar, July 14, 1714, laying the interdict on the Bandel of Hugli; the other, dated Hugli, Oct. 8, 1714, and removing the interdict. Cf. *Bullarium Patronatus Portugalliae...*, Vol. III, Lisboa, MDCCCLXXIII, pp. 135—138.

Fr. Francisco da Assumpção enlarged in 1720 the Church erected in Calcutta by Mrs. Margaret Tench, the expenses of this improvement being borne by Mrs. Sebastiana Shaw. (Cf. Asiaticus, Pt. I, *Ecclesiast. Chronolog. and Histor. Sketches respecting Bengal*, Calcutta, 1803, p. 50.) Dom Frei Eugenio Triqueiros an Augustinian born at Torres Vedras (6 Jan. 1687) and professed in the Convent da Graça of Lisbon (27 March 1701), came out to the Mission of Bengal in 1715, after studying theology at Coimbra and teaching Moral at Tavira and Theology at Evora. About 1722 he was Vicar of the Church of Our Lady of Guadalupe at Xatigão (Chittagong).¹ For some time he governed the diocese of Mailapur, and in 1724 was elected Bishop of Uranopolis, and coadjutor and successor to Dom João de Casal, Bishop of Macao, where he was consecrated in 1727. At the request of D. João V., he was transferred from Macao to the Archbishopric of Goa (11 Febr. 1739), but died suddenly on boardship off Calicut (22 Apr. 1741) and was buried at sea. It was suspected that he had been poisoned. He wrote a Portuguese-Hindustani (or Persian),² vocabulary containing the names of things [*sic*] and medicines,—an *Answer* (Xatigão, 7 Aug. 1722) to the question whether it is allowed or not to receive interest on money but in Bengal and other parts of the East;³ also an *Answer* (Xatigão, 15 Jan. 1723) to the question: What obligation to learn the *Doutrina* (Catechism) in "Bangalla" is there for those who either know nothing of the Portuguese language, or know of it so little that they cannot have the natural or necessary understanding of the Portuguese *Doutrina*?⁴ (Cf. Padre Casimiro

1. I believe now that I was right in my suggestion. (*Bengal: Past & Present*, 1913, Vol. X, p. 37n. 4) that Shāhābād was neither Hugli, nor Pipili, but Chittagong, since the only Church dedicated by the Augustinians to Our Lady of Guadalupe was either at Chittagong or its suburb Dianga.

2. Why not Bengali? At any rate, it is not likely that the vocabulary was in Persian.

3. Cf. *Bengal: Past & Present*, 1914, Vol. IX, p. 54, where it is shown that Bishop Laines, during his visitation of Bengal (1712-15) allowed 12½% of interest.

4. The last question shows that some Augustinians at least, instead of learning Bengali, tried to make Portuguese the language of their schools. In extenuation it may be said that Portuguese had, indeed, become a sort of *lingua franca*, specially on the side of Chittagong, the oldest Portuguese settlement in Bengal, where the Christian population consisted mostly of low-caste Portuguese and natives who tried to pass for Topazes, as the Eurasians of the time were called.

Christovão de Nazareth, *Mitras Lusitanas*, Pt. 1, 2nd Edição, Lisboa, 1894 pp. 248-625.)

Fr. Ambrosio de S. Agostinho, Provincial in 1750 of the Augustinian Congregation of the East Indies, Goa, states that he was a Missionary at Bhawal in 1726, and that in his time Fr. Antonio de S. Francisco was Vicar of Tesgão. (Cf. *O Chronista de Tisuary*, 1867, pp. 57-62.) The Vicar of Tesgão in 1774 was Frei Raymond of St. Rita. (*Chandernagar Baptism Registers*.)

Fr. Manoel of the Assumption was "Rector of the Mission of St. Nicholas of Tolentino" (Bhawal) in Bengal in 1735. He was the author of the three earliest printed Bengali works on record. (Cf. our article in *Bengal: Past & Present*, 1914, Vol. IX, pp. 40-63. He is probably the Padre Manoel who was Vicar of Chinsura in 1751. (*Chandernagar Marriage Registers*.)

In 1740 we hear for the first time of a chaplaincy at Kasimbazar. On Apr. 26, 1740, the Council of Pondicherry wrote to the Bishop of Mailapur:

"My Lord, The RR. FF. Augustinians who were established at Moxoudabat [Murshidabad], and who fulfilled the duties of chaplains in the lodge which our Company has at Kasimbazar, having been recalled, the servants of our factory were without any spiritual help. Hence the Council of Chandernagor had resolved to invite the Rev. Father Peter Omellaghin, Chaplain of one of our vessels from France, to remain in the Indies and act as Chaplain at Kasimbazar. To this he consented. Consequently, the Council of Chandernagor wrote to the Rev. Fr. Francis of the Assumption, Your Lordship's Grand Vicar at Golcotta [Calcutta], asking him to be so kind as to send to the Rev. Father Peter Omellaghin¹ the necessary powers for fulfilling the functions of Chaplain at Kasimbazar. He refuses them on the plea.....that this chaplaincy is due to the Rev. Jesuit Fathers of Chandernagor, because Your Lordship, when speaking in divers passages of the Pastoral of the 9th January 1736 of the Parish of Chandernagor and its dependencies, appoints the Rev. Jesuit Fathers as Vicars (*Curés*) of the said Parish. The Rev. Fr. Francis of the Assumption understands that, as all the factories which our Company has in Bengal depend on Chandernagor, in case the Company wishes to establish in them vicarages or chaplaincies, these should belong by right to the Rev. Jesuit Fathers of Chandernagor, an interpretation which neither we nor the Rev. Jesuit Fathers had ever thought of. The interpretation does violence to what

1. Omellaghin is probably not the correct form of the Chaplain's name. It appears to be Irish rather than French, and it is not impossible that an Irishman should have been appointed. The Chandernagar Registers contain the names of several Irish Chaplains on board French vessels.

Your Lordship said or wished to say in the above-said Pastoral. We beg therefore Your Lordship to send to us under the Rev. Father Omellaghin's name the powers....."

Bishop Pinheiro acceded to their request and the Catholics of Murshidabad were made dependent on Chandernagar. About 1755 there were some Christians in the service of the Nawab of Murshidabad, whilst some 150 of them lived at Kasimbazar, their Chaplain being a French priest. (Cf. *A Jurisdição diocesana*....., *Op. cit.*, pp. 294—295.) However, Anquetil du Perron relates that on April 6, 1757, the day following his arrival at Murshidabad, he was conducted to the Vicar "of the Mestiço Christians scattered about that large town." He was a young Portuguese Augustinian, who until then had performed the duties of Chaplain at Kasimbazar, where Anquetil had recently met him when passing through that factory. (Cf. Anquetil du Perron, *Zend-Avesta*, Paris, 1771, Tome I, Première Partie, p. LIV.)

When Siraj-ud-daula marched on Calcutta from Kasimbazar in 1756, it was said that he had in his employ 25 Europeans or gunners and upwards of 200 Portuguese. "It was essayed to draw from the Nabob's army the several Europeans and Portuguese by application in writing from the priests who by three letters represented to them how contrary it was to Christianity their taking arms in the service of the Moors against the Christians, with threats from those priests unless they quitted the evil way they were in and came to our assistance where they would be received into pay. These letters were sent to the Nabob's Camp to be delivered to the first Christian that could be met with. On receipt thereof they declared there was no means left for them to escape, that had they been before advised of the offence they were committing they could possibly have found an opportunity of coming over to us." (Cf. S. C. Hill, *Bengal in 1756-57*, I, 135, 140-141). The same author states that the Catholic priests of Calcutta had been instructed to write to these men and remonstrate with them. (Cf. *ibid.*, III; I lxxii).

In July 1756, after the capture of Calcutta, there were 3 Portuguese priests on board the ships at Fulta. (Cf. *ibid.*, III. 76, 106). Their names appear to have been Bento, Caetano and Joam. (Cf. *ibid.*, III. 416). Bento appears in the Index as Rev. Padre Bento, a Portuguese priest. If Caetano was a Padre, he must have been Padre Fr. Caetano da Madre de Deos. Padre Bento may have been Padre Bento de S. Silvestre. But then, he must have returned to Chinsura, for on Sept. 16, 1756, he wrote from Chinsura to the English at Fulta giving them useful information about their enemies.¹ We copy this document here.

¹. He baptised at Chinsura on April 27, 1757, (*Chandernagar Baptism Registers*).

Padre Bento's Report of Calcutta.

"September 20, [1756].—Padre Bento of the 16 from Chinsura advises the Honourable the President, that he had remained from the 1st to the 25th Ultio. at Calcutta, where there were then 1,000 or 1,500 Sea Poys, and that they had mounted most of the Honourable Company's Cannon on the Battery facing the River, for which they had made new Carriages, very bad and unfit for Service, that there were few Guns mounted on the bastions, and none on the Curtain: he is since informed by People he can depend on, that there were only 1,000 Men, in Garrison at Calcutta, that at Tanna's Fort there were 200 men, 11 Guns, four 2 Pounders, one 24 pounder, and 6 more unfit for service, with only four Portuguese Gunners, that at Bugee Bugee there were 800 Men, about 20 good Guns, and 30 or 60 Portuguese little better than Cooleys, that at Hughley there are 500 Men of which 40 are in the Fort, the rest being quarter'd on the Gunge a place a little above Bandel, they have there also 10 unserviceable Guns and some old Portuguese Gunners. He further adds that the Spunges for the Guns were that day sent up to Muxadavad, and that the 4 Forts seem'd all ready to run away upon the first Alarm."¹

The following document refers to the Mission at Chittagong and the neighbourhood. "The very ancient establishment of this Crown in the Dominions of Chatigáo [Chittagong], at the entrance of the Ganges, being well known to all the world, and the command of them being in the year 1756 entrusted to F...de Barros, the Council of Bengala fell into the excess of writing to the Commandant with that arrogance which is natural to the English Nation. They intimated to him that the Nabab of the Country, in one of the Peace Regulations concluded with the same Council, had ceded in favour of the English Company the whole of that Province of Chatigáo, and they concluded that the said Commandant should at once, and without delay, give up the lands under his surveillance, because there was question of taking at once possession of them in the name of the said Council. What odious arrogance!

The said F...de Barros protested with all his might (*efficacissimamente*) that those small dominions belonged to the Portuguese Crown, and that they did not form part of that Province, for that Crown had been many centuries in possession of them in virtue of the lawful donations which were known to the Court of London, and other neighbouring and non-neighbouring powers.

1. *Cl. Old Fort William in Bengal. A Selection of Official Documents dealing with its history*, edited by the late C. R. Wilson, M. A., D. Litt, Vol. II. London, John Murray, Albemarle Street, 1906, p.—*i.e.*, Extracts from Bengal Select Committee Consultations, on board the *Grampus* Sloop, Fulta, September 20, 1756. Range A., Vol. I.

"But nothing could check the English ambition. They took violently possession; expelled even the Parish-Priests from their respective Churches, and, however much the Viceroy of India fought for the integrity of the rights of the Crown, the restitution of the usurped dominions, the observance of the bonds of peace and alliance, they paid attention to nothing, and laughed at everything; and from that time till now the English enjoy, thanks to an unjust encroachment, that which by every right belongs to and is part of the Portuguese Crown.

"That fact the Court of London cannot disculpate, it is a most glaring rupture of the alliance; but, if the same Court had not suggested it, and if it were to divest itself of its ambitious projects, it would at once give the condign satisfaction which the laws of friendship and public prae demand."¹

Father Marco della Tomba, a Capuchin, who came to the Mission of Bettiah in 1758, writes before 1769: "Between the lands of Cambô and those of Indostan, towards Daká, there is another Ragiã [Rájya-Kingdom], called *Raghamatti*. It must be to the east of Nepal, beyonds the lands of Kirat, and they say there are many Christians there, and that the Portuguese Fathers of Bengal formerly lived there, but have since retired to Daká." (Cf. A. de Gubernatis, *Scritti del Padre Marco della Tomba*, Firenze, 1878, pp. 58—59.) Rangamati was along the Brahmaputra in Assam.

A list of Augustinian Visitors, Provisors and Vicars General in Bengal up to 1869 will be found in Casimiro Christovão de Nazareth's *Mitras Lusitanas*, Pt. III, pp. 104-110. Hardly any of the names there mentioned go back to the 17th Century. They were copied by Padre C. Christovão de Nazareth from a MS. book formerly belonging to the Convent of the Augustinians of Goa and their Hospice at Colaba. In 1888 it was still kept in the parochial Archives of Mazagon, Bombay. It contains the regulations and elections made in the capitular sessions of the Order here in India between Oct. 18, 1765 and May 9, 1832. Padre de Nazareth borrows from it three sets of ordinances regarding the Missions of Bengal, and dated Oct. 18, 1765, 1771, and Apr. 12, 1788.²

1. Cf. *O Chronista de Tisuary*, 1866, p. 327. This attack on the English is entitled "Second atrocity or second encroachment [of the English] against the establishment of the Portuguese in the dominions of Chatigão at the entrance of the Ganges." The document is entitled: *Dedução Chronologica de algumas infracções dos Tratados da paz, praticadas pelos Ingleses nos Estados da India, desde o anno de 1748 até o de 1769*, and is dedicated to the Marquis of Pombal Sebastião Josep de Carvalho e Mello. The author, D. Antonio Jose de Noronha, Bishop Elect of Hall-carnassus, wrote it at Lisbon in 1772. Cf. *Op. cit.*, p. 321. I understand that the English claimed Chittagong after they had defeated Siraj-ad-daula at Plassey, June 23, 1757, and installed Mir Jafar.

2. I have not now this book with me. As for the original MS. it was mislaid when the transfer from the old Gloria Church, Bombay, to the new one took place some years ago. I am still corresponding with the authorities of the Rosary Church, Mazagon, Bombay. C. C. de Nazareth refers to it also in *Mitras Lusit.*, Pt. I, 2a edição, Lisbon, 1894, p. 346n. 37.

The study we have made of the oldest Church Registers of Murghihata and Serampur furnishes us with the names of a large number of other Missionaries.

Fr. H. Josson, S. J., states in *Missions Belges*, Brussels, 1914, p. 13 n. 1 that he had ascertained the names of 77 Fathers and 3 Brothers of the Provinces of Goa and Malabar who laboured in Bengal from 1576 to 1740, as also the names of 27 Fathers, 1 scholastic and 6 Brothers of the French Jesuit Mission at Chandernagar. The complete catalogue of the Jesuits in Bengal before the suppression of the Society would comprise from 130 to 140 names. We have ourselves published a list of the Portuguese Jesuits in Bengal with about 78 names in *J. A. S. B.*, 1911, Vol. VII, pp. 15-35, and our researches in the Chandernagar Church Registers from 1690 upto date still reveal the names of about 130 names of the Chandernagar clergy. As for the Capuchins of the Tibet Mission from 1904, nearly all belong in a manner to Chandernagar, where they passed on their way to their Mission (Patna, Bettiah, Tibet or Nepal), or where they recruited their health. The Rev. Fr. Felix of Antwerp, O. C., is now publishing a list of the Capuchins of the Tibet Mission in *The Franciscan Annals of India*, Agra, 1915, pp. 369-390; 416-418; 1916, pp. 21-23 (to be continued).

APPENDIX B.

REFERENCES TO THE MILITARY CHAPLAINCY OF CHINSURA (1839-1870).

The English Jesuit Fathers established in Calcutta in 1839 the work of the Propagation of the Faith, and it was due to the zeal of Mr. Francis Pereira, the Secretary, that its membership quickly ran into hundreds. After 3 weeks he writes: "We had promised ourselves the pleasure of inserting the name of Chinsurah; but up to this period no communication has been received from that very Catholic depôt. What are the good folks about there? If there is only a single man amongst them who can feel willing to make a beginning, and can engage nine associates in one decade, let him write instantly up to the Secretary, F. Pereira, Esq., at Gilmore & Co.'s Office, and he shall be sure to receive instructions, which will soon multiply his decade into some hundreds; and inform him how to arrange his accounts, and to transmit their sums to their destination. The good Catholics of Fort William have been fired with emulation of the example of their brethren at Dum-Dum, and one effort has made them represent a hundred and seventy names in the list of members. Chinsurah must burn next." (*Bengal Catholic Expositor*, Calcutta, 1839, p. 393).

Catholic Soldiers at Chinsurah.

To The Editor of *The Bengal Catholic Expositor*.

DEAR SIR,

I duly appreciate your endeavours to impress on the mind of the Local Government in India, the necessity of granting fair play to all religious persuasions; and not continue to foster with worse than Tory intolerance the Religion in England established by Law, to the exclusion of the Catholic and Dissenter.

Your Correspondent, A Catholic Soldier, very fairly remarks that two-thirds of the European Regiments in India and their families are Roman Catholics, as may be instanced at this station, where the greater part of the 21st Royal Fusiliers, together with about one hundred Recruits of the 9th and as many of the 16th, are without a House of Worship, no not even such a shed, shelter or hovel as he describes the worthy gentlemen of St. Xavier's College to have recourse to, at the Fort, the Chaplain and Catholic Soldiers here being ever indebted to the worthy family of Lackersteen at Calcutta, who granted them ad interim the use of an extensive House to worship their God, according to the dictates of their conscience, and the custom of their ancestors in the Catholic Faith.

It is needless to remind you that the Protestant Chaplain here is allowed a lordly salary, all the insignia, and paraphernalia of office, Church, residence, pomp, circumstance and all, together with a European Soldier to vest, and respond to him on Sundays, &c., while the Commanding Officer cannot allow the Catholic Chaplain a Soldier to vest or respond to his Church Liturgy during one hour on any one day in the week. The Indian Government may talk of tolerance and liberty of conscience, but one fact is worth one thousand arguments.

By inserting this in your greatly valued journal you will oblige,

Your obedient servant,

Philip Brady.

Chinsurah, Jan. 22, 1840.

We hope to hear again from Captain Brady.—Ed. (*Cf. Bengal Cath. Expositor*, Vol. II, No. xxx, Jan. 25, 1840, p. 55.)

Mr. Francis Pereira was successful in his appeal for members at Chinsura. He writes on Jan. 30, 1840: "To the credit of the true Catholic spirit be it told, immediately after the publication above alluded to, in your 25th Number, one of the 21st Fusiliers, obedient to the appeal there made to them, collected a decade of Subscribers together; and writing to me for

instructions how to proceed, he declares 'that, united in the same spirit that is extending over the whole world the work entitled the Propagation of the Faith, the Catholic Soldiers of Chinsurah will give it their most zealous co-operation.' (*B. C. Expos.*, 1840, Febr. 1, p. 67.)

A subscription being started in favour of a "Nunnery" in Calcutta, "parties in the Mofussil, willing to support the good work, will kindly forward their contribution to the Catholic Clergymen stationed at Bawaul (Dacca), Chittagong, Chandernagore or Chinsurah, Hazaribagh, Hussnabad and Serampore." (*B. C. E.*, 1840, Apr. 4, p. 211.) It might seem then that the Catholic Clergyman of Chandernagar was also Military Chaplain at Chinsura; but, we find out in June 1840 that it was the contrary.

Under the administration of Messrs. Cordier, Bedier and Niel, the Rev. Père Guérin of Chandernagar had directed the General Martin Charity without any interference by any officer of the Government; but, under the incumbency of the new Administrator, he felt compelled to resign the curacy in consequence of the constant annoyance he was subject to on account of Martin's Charity. His successor, the Rev. Père Boulogne too soon felt the irksomeness of his position. "The fact was that he could not conscientiously yield to others the trust reposed in him by the Supreme Court; he, however, went so far as to permit a clerk of the Government to be present at the distribution of the Charity, and readily paid the man for his attendance. This Missionary was discovered to be "too clever" for such a settlement, and the authorities recommended that his talents should be employed in a larger field where they would be better appreciated. Mr. O'Sullivan was named as his successor, and the sequel shows how his services have been required.

"Thus within the short space of eighteen months Chandernagore has had no less than three Curates; all of whom have suffered persecution for not yielding to the arbitrary wishes of an individual who can have no legal right to interfere in the disposal of General Martin's Charity."*

We subjoin the sentiments of the leading journals on the subject.

(*From The Englishman*, 11th January.)

We yesterday received a respectably authenticated detail of a 'fantastic trick' which has been played by the man dressed in a little brief authority, who is at the head of affairs in Chandernagore, and which appears to us to have somewhat closely on the rights of a British

* Since writing the above we understand that Lord Auckland has demanded the immediate deliverance of Mr. O'Sullivan from imprisonment.

subject, who should not be allowed to be imprisoned arbitrarily by any government on earth, without an effectual interference on the part of his own. In the present case, although the Governor General cannot exactly declare war against France, even if the treatment of the Reverend gentleman in question by the French Governor be ever so bad, yet we do not doubt that a strong, prompt, and dignified demand for explanation, and a protest or remonstrance, if such explanation be not satisfactory, would have the desired effect; and as the matter is before Government, we will not anticipate any result which will dishonour the English nation. In publishing the particulars of the case, we shall give them not in our own language, but just as we have received them, because we are informed that it is deemed of consequence that they should appear this day, at latest, and because we are too much pressed for time (at this hour of writing) to put them into formal editorial shape, though we consider the case deserving of the editorial column:—

“We have to record the fact of a most arbitrary proceeding on the part of the acting administrator of the affairs of Chandernagore, or as he is officially styled *Officier de service*, who has unjustifiably incarcerated in jail the Reverend Mr. O’Sullivan, a British subject and a Roman Catholic Chaplain to her Majesty’s troops at Chinsurah in the service of the East India Company. This reverend gentleman has for some months past afforded spiritual aid to the Catholics of Chandernagore under the direction of the Right Reverend Dr. Tahard, Vicar Apostolic of Bengal, who had been solicited both by the Prefect Apostolic of Pondicherry and the administrator *pro tem*. to provide a priest for that settlement. The Bishop not having a clergyman to spare for that special purpose, his Lordship desired Mr. O’Sullivan to attend to the wants of the Catholics of that place, when his other avocations at Chinsurah would permit; and it was agreed that the priest was to receive a certain allowance from the French Government for service he may render to the Church there. By this arrangement he virtually became the Curate of Chandernagore, enjoying the same rights and privileges as his predecessors.

Last Sunday after the discharge of his duties at Chinsurah, Mr. O’Sullivan went to Chandernagore to distribute the monthly charity bequeathed by the late General Claude Martin to the widows and orphans resident in that settlement. Immediately on his arrival, he wrote to one of the Magistrates requesting his attendance at the Church to witness (as he had before done on several similar occasions) the proper distribution of the charity. The Magistrate came forthwith, and to the surprise of the priest demanded on the part of Monsieur *Officier de service* all the money in his possession belonging to the charity. Mr. O’Sullivan peremptorily declined, declaring that, as he alone, and not the Administrator or any officer of the Government, was responsible to Mr. Grant of the Supreme Court at Calcutta, who entrusted the money to his charge for distribution to the poor of Chandernagore, according to the tenor of the last Will and Testament of the deceased, he could not suffer the money to go out of his custody without being guilty of a breach of trust. On this Mr. O’Sullivan was conducted to the house of the great Monsieur, before whom he reiterated his reasons for not complying with the mandate of the Magistrate.

In consequence of this refusal, he was immediately committed by order of the said *Officier* to the common jail, his horse and buggy distrained, and the almirah in the Church in which Mr. O’Sullivan had deposited the money, sealed with the seal of the Court. The room where the Reverend gentleman is imprisoned is damp and dirty, and since Monday, all intercourse with him is prohibited, not even permitting the Venerable Dr. Pezzoni, the late Bishop of Agra, who is at present staying at Chandernagore, to see him. Thus no person, whether lay or clerical, is admitted to give him any advice or assistance in this dilemma, thus debarring him from making known his distresses and wants, and we are not certain whether he is permitted to write to his friends without having the letters intercepted. On the first day of Mr. O’Sullivan’s confinement, a gentleman of that place, well known as much for his hospitality, as for his charity, supplied him with victuals, a bed and other necessaries, which the jail, or rather an apology for one, did not afford, but the comfort of a good meal was denied to him on the next day, and a humbler fare has since been served from a tavern by order of the Governor.

Can it be supposed for a moment that a Frenchman who glories in the cry of *vive la liberté* could be capable of imprisoning a British subject, a priest, on a Sunday, without trial or warrant, or even without a shadow of a crime, unless it be a crime to refuse servile obedience to an unreasonable demand of a man in temporary authority? The charges advanced as a pretext for his being placed in *durance vile*, are that Mr. O'S. acted against the laws of the Colony in having received a sum of money from the Supreme Court of Calcutta without the permission of the *Officier de service*; and that all charity monies distributed in the settlement must be subject to the inspection and become amenable to any rule the Governor may prescribe. No other Curates obtained such permission nor submitted to such surveillance; therefore why should Mr. O'Sullivan do more than his duty required, although he always took the precaution of requesting the attendance of a Magistrate to witness the distribution?

We are assured that the inhabitants of Chandernagore, both Catholics and Protestants, are highly indignant at the conduct of the *Officier*; and we are told that even the officers of the Government are almost unanimous in condemning the illegal proceeding of their Chief.

We understand that this affair has come officially before Lord Auckland, who will no doubt call on the authorities of Chandernagore for an explanation of this extraordinary and despotic conduct towards Mr. O'Sullivan, and demand his immediate liberation from jail.

We would urge that a strong remonstrance be forthwith sent to the Governor-General of Pondicherry, to which place Chandernagore is subordinate, and if Charalier de Camporre is such a man as some give him credit for, he will assuredly cause an investigation into this and other freaks of the Chandernagore authorities, and mete justice according to every one's deserts."

(From *The Bengal Hurkaru*, 11th January.)

Mr. O'Sullivan, a Roman Catholic Curé, and minister of the Catholic soldiery at Chinsurah, is at present the party-empowered by the Trustees, (namely, the Supreme Court of Calcutta) to distribute the Martino Charity to the poor of Chandernagore. Last Sunday, this Gentleman proceeded to the above place, with seven hundred rupees in silver, to distribute, according to his instructions, when, the bait being too tempting for the French Governor, he sent to Mr. O'Sullivan to demand him to deliver over the Martino Charity money to a messenger deputed to receive it; and not only did the French authority demand the money in Mr. O'Sullivan's possession, but he called upon the Curé to give security for the deliverance to him (the Governor) of other Charity money (six hundred rupees) in the Curé's charge at Chinsurah. Mr. O'Sullivan very properly refused to listen to this extraordinary demand, and was, accordingly, delivered over to the Police and confined in the Chandernagore Gaol. His almirah was sealed up, his buggy and pony taken away, and he himself left to repent of his contumacy in a damp prison—such are the facts of this extraordinary case, and brief are the comments they require. Mr. O'Sullivan is a British subject, and Roman Catholic Chaplain to Her Majesty's Troops at Chinsurah—he was, when seized and imprisoned, in the act of complying with the injunctions of the Supreme Court—and is entitled to the protection of the British Government, and his immediate deliverance at their hands, from the hands of the French authorities. We are writing far more temperately than our feelings prompt us to write; but we are convinced that our plain statement of this atrocious business will be fully as effective as an outpouring of vehement, though just, indignation.

(*Ch. The Bengal Catholic Express*, No. 4, June 13, 1849. Vol. II, pp. 374-376.)

(From *The Harkaru*, 19th June.)

It would appear that the Rev. Mr. O'Sullivan still remains in prison in Chandernagore, under the order of the French Governor, notwithstanding the remonstrance of the Governor-General of

India. This affair, consequently, begins to wear a very serious aspect, and may, eventually, lead to results that entered little into the contemplation of the French Governor of this insignificant settlement; and may not, improbably, prove the proximate cause of doing that, the policy and expediency of doing which has long ago been sufficiently understood; namely, of getting rid of the little foreign nooks and corners, in the continent of Hindoostan, which do no credit to their metropolitan state, and, with respect to us, are but pauper receptacles of smuggled salt, or desperate creditors. With regard to the imprisonment of Mr. O'Sullivan, a British subject, whilst engaged in the performance of a solemn and important trust and duty, we can scarcely suppose that the Governor of a little petty settlement, like that of Chandernagore, existing by sufferance in the heart of the British Indian territory, would dare to set at defiance the power of Great Britain, even in as far only as that power is delegated to Lord Auckland, unless he conceived himself to be armed with some legal authority so to do. We do not affect to be conversant with the local laws of Chandernagore; but, as that settlement is the colony of a civilised country, we must suppose that they bear some analogy to the laws of other civilised nations. We must conclude, that the Governor of Chandernagore is neither an Amarat, nor a Muisey Abderrahman, nor even a Governor of Lin, and we can only judge of the measure he has adopted in the imprisonment of Mr. O'Sullivan, by comparing it with an hypothetical case taking place at Calcutta. Let us suppose that a Revd. French gentleman had come to Calcutta with the intention of executing a similar trust to that committed to Mr. O'Sullivan, viz., that of distributing the funds of a charitable bequest among the objects of the testator's benevolence, and that he were, whilst engaged in this duty, to be seized by order of the Local Government, and put into Calcutta Jail, in order to compel him to transfer the funds legally placed in his hands, to a nominee of the Bengal Government. We put this case hypothetically, and well we may; for our readers will perceive that so monstrous an occurrence is impossible. On what ground, then, we should like to know, does the Governor of this little petty pauper French Colony, assume to do that towards a British subject, which the Governor-General of all India would never dream of doing towards a French subject? It cannot be justified; for, should any tyrannical bye-law of this French Colony exist, which would give any colour of authority for a French Colonial authority to interfere with the due and legal execution of a charitable bequest within his Government, yet this can be no justification for the conduct of the Governor of Chandernagore in the present instance; for, if he had such a right, and if he could legally demand that the charitable funds should pass through his hands, (which, by-the-way, we conceive to be impossible in the present case) his cause was plain and clear. He should have given notice of such his claim to the Master of Her Majesty's Supreme Court, who would have brought it to the notice of the Bench, and the matter then would have become a question between the British Court and the French Governor. But this functionary, (to compare small things with great) has acted towards poor Mr. O'Sullivan precisely as the House of Commons acted in the recent privilege squabble, towards the Sheriffs of Middlesex. Mr. O'Sullivan is, in fact, in a situation identical with the Sheriffs. They were directed by the Court of King's Bench to pay over a certain sum of money to a certain party, which they were in the act of doing when the House *pocketed* them, and say, "Pay over the money to our nominee, and not to the nominee of the Court." So is the case of Mr. O'Sullivan. He is between two fires; for if he do not pay the funds in question, as directed by the Court, it will *pocket* him, by attachment for a contempt. We hope he will show the same firmness as the Sheriffs of London, and we doubt not that he will as well triumph in the end, by obeying the legal authorities of his country in defiance of a tyrannical and cowardly mandate. We agree with the *Morning Chronicle*, that the House of Commons acted in a cowardly manner by seizing the Sheriffs, the mere Ministers of the Court itself, but this they were afraid to do. Now, we regard this conduct of Chandernagore, as both insulting to the British Government, and cowardly towards Mr. O'Sullivan. If the French Governor do possess the right he claims, it should have been made the subject of negotiation, and should have been either formally established, or formally declared invalid. But, we repeat, that we do not

believe that any such right exists, or can be justified by any legal quirk or quibble whatever. At any rate, if Chandernagore is a colony that exacts such submission from British subjects, who enter its precincts for the sole purpose of bringing into it treasure, which comes out of British territory, we can only say, that is an additional reason for doing away with such a wart on British India. We said above, that we conclude, that a Governor of a French Colony is not a Governor Lin; but it would appear, that the Chandernagore Governor out-Lins Lin. The latter only imprisoned the British merchants; because, as he asserted, they brought opium into China, and took specie silver out of it; but, poor Mr. O'Sullivan, is imprisoned for taking in not opium, but specie silver for the benefit of the Colony. It may be said, that the money belongs to the Colony; and so it does; but when a man makes a gift he has the right to prescribe the manner in which it shall be taken. General Martin did prescribe this manner, which being in no degree illegal or harmful, the Governor of Chandernagore acts worse than the dog in the manger, if he refuses to allow a benefit to flow to the French subjects of Chandernagore, by interfering with the mode of distribution prescribed by the testator. On the whole, we can discover no justification, for this gross outrage on the liberty of a British subject, who, whether his act were right or wrong, was acting under the orders of a British Court of Justice; and that alone ought to have been an ample Protection against personal insult or outrage. The insult, in point of fact, is offered to Her Majesty's Supreme Court, for Mr. O'Sullivan is suffering imprisonment solely in his character of ministerial officer of that Court. If any party is wrong, as connected with the administration of the charity as regards Chandernagore, it is the Supreme Court, and not Mr. O'Sullivan; who was only an ambassador for charitable purposes, and if ever that character ought to be deemed sacred, it surely must be so when engaged on such a mission.

The *Englishman* suggests a summary process of *Habeas Corpus* to be served on the Jail of Chandernagore, to be said, not out of a Court of Star Chamber, but, as the Eastern luminary would say, a Court of Tax-Chamber; in other words, that a gathering should take place at the Salloes' Home, or other quarter where Tars do congregate, and that a select score or so should proceed *instantly* on a little excursion up the river, and drop in by chance at Chandernagore, and see the lions of that renowned city, among the rest, to inspect the interior of its jail, with a view, we presume, to obtain some useful suggestions for the use of our Prison-discipline Committee. We doubt not that Jack would like nothing better than the excursion, and that he would very soon make a very satisfactory "return" of his proceedings to the friends of Mr. O'Sullivan; and, really, if French Governors in little holes and corners of this great continent, will play such pranks, Jack Tar of Great Britain, a chartered liberation as far as pranks are concerned, might be very well excused, if he acted on the suggestion of the *Englishman*, and not only proceeded to execute their "*Habeas Corpus*" upon Mr. O'Sullivan, but having, as generally is the case, where half a dozen sailors are collected together, a bit of a sea-lawyer among them, were on his further suggestion, to proceed to what he would call "a substitution of service," which they might execute by making the Governor of Chandernagore the *locum tenens* of Mr. O'Sullivan in the Donjokeep. But, whether or no, the ears of this mighty Governor of Barrataria, be saluted by the pretty considerably respectable sound of three cheers from the lungs of a band of British Tars, preliminary to a daring deed, the matter must be more gravely considered, and the relative position of this little settlement, towards India at large and British subjects, who happen to enter those French "territories" must be put on a clear understanding. We have taken this occasion to speak very freely on the subject of these little foreign colonial establishments in India, because this is by no means the first instance of insult and annoyance offered to British subjects by the present Governor of Chandernagore, that has been brought to our notice. It falls not within our function to pass strictures on the fiscal or financial system pursued in the little settlement of Chandernagore, we have therefore said little of the measure of excluding beef and mutton, the produce of British territory, in order to work some paltry operation on the local revenue (*revenue proli pudor*). But this we must say, that if the French Government, nor its

colony, can afford to pay their Governor sufficiently well to keep him decently without having recourse to paltry operations upon the beef and mutton market, to the vexation and annoyance, as well as the cost of *les habitans*, they must leave such Governor open to very awkward surmises, respecting his motives, when he claps an ambassador of charity into jail, because such agent of benevolence will not betray the trust that has been reposed in him.

(From *The Englishman*, June 18.)

THE REV. O'SULLIVAN.—We regret much to hear that, notwithstanding the notice taken of the matter by the press, the Rev. Mr. O'Sullivan has not yet been released by the Governor of Chandernagore. Even the letter of the Governor General is said to have produced no effect upon the mind or purposes of *Monsieur l'Officier de Service*. An appeal to the Supreme Government of Pondicherry is, we hear, in preparation, and will soon be dispatched, but in the meantime the poor *Padre* languishes in *durance vile*. There is but one course for the friends of Mr. O'Sullivan to adopt. Let them collect together a body of seamen from the different ships in the river, arm them after a fashion and just show them where *Monsieur Craquand* has lodged their countryman. The Chandernagore Bastille will not long retain its tenant after that.

(Cf. *The Bengal Catholic Expositor*, June 20, 1840, Vol. II, pp. 359-400.)

RELEASE OF THE REVEREND MR. O'SULLIVAN.

We are happy to announce that the Reverend Mr. O'Sullivan has at length been set at liberty by the Authorities at Chandernagore and has returned to his duties at Chinsurah.

It is said that Lord Auckland caused a second remonstrance to be addressed to *Monsieur l'Officier de Service*, and at the same time directed Mr. Barlow, the Judge of Hooghly, to demand the immediate release of the Rev. Gentleman. Mr. Barlow accordingly waited on Mr. Bourgois on Wednesday last and desired to be informed of the nature of the charges for which Mr. O'Sullivan was imprisoned. Mr. Bourgois declined entering into any explanation, stating he had already communicated them to Lord Auckland: but he prudently ordered the release of Mr. O'Sullivan together with the money, as also the Buggy and Horse which had been distrained.

These measures will, we presume, convince the Chandernagore Authorities that Lord Auckland did not view the arbitrary imprisonment of a British Subject as so very trifling an affair as, we are informed, they affected to represent it. In His Lordship they may rely on always finding a firm and jealous protector of the rights and properties of British Subjects and one always prompt to resent a national outrage. The *Hurkara* deprecates the existence of such a paltry Government as that of Chandernagore in the midst of our possessions, but we think that it is attended with some advantage. The arbitrary and tyrannical freaks of power, which are occasionally exhibited by our neighbours, tend to move the most thoughtless amongst us to a due appreciation of the blessings of our own Government.

We regret to learn that the Reverend Gentleman's health has suffered seriously from the closeness of his confinement and the dampness of his dungeon. Since writing the above, the following letter from Mr. O'Sullivan has been handed to us for publication.

To the Right Reverend Dr. Taberd,

*Bishop of Isauropolis and V. A. of Bengal,
Calcutta.*

My Lord, Mr. Barlow, Judge of Hooghly, under the instructions of Lord Auckland, proceeded to Chandernagore yesterday to demand my immediate liberation from jail, and also the restoration of the money from the sealed Almirah, my Buggy, Horse, &c. To this the Administrator consented, more from necessity than choice I am sure, and I was set at liberty at 3 o'clock yesterday evening in the presence of the Judge, who insisted I should accompany him to Chinsurah in his carriage. As I did not wish to detain Mr. Barlow, I left Chandernagore without seeing either Dr. Pezzoni, or my kind benefactor Mr. St. Pourcain, or even paying some jail expences, but I am resolved to go this evening and see all these affairs arranged.

I deem it a matter of course to proceed early in the beginning of next week to Calcutta, to thank your Lordship personally for your kind and active interference with the authorities on my behalf, and also to receive your Lordship's instructions and advice regarding the destination of the money once more in my possession. I am at present labouring under a severe cold and hoarseness contracted in my late damp residence, but hope to be soon well.

Believe me to be thankfully and sincerely your Lordship's most obedient humble servant,

Andrew O'Sullivan.

CHINSURAH, 18th June, 1840.

(Cf. *The Bengal Catholic Expositor*. No. LI, June 20, 1840, Vol. II, pp. 391-392.)

"The Right Reverend Dr. Pezzoni has returned from Chandernagore, no doubt heartily disgusted with the authorities of that place for their unjustifiable treatment of the Rev. Mr. O'Sullivan. Chandernagore is consequently left without a Priest to administer to the spiritual wants of the Catholic inhabitants there, and we fear it will be long before another Clergyman will be found to do the duties of a Curé there. Dr. Pezzoni will, we understand, leave this place immediately for Agra, where his services are required."

(Cf. *B. C. E.*, 1840, June 27, p. 410.)

The Governor of Pondicherry condemned *in toto* the proceedings of the authorities of Chandernagore, and, believing Father O'Sullivan was still in prison, ordered Monsieur Bourgoïn to release him. (*B. C. E.*, 1840, Vol. III, P. 19). On Monday, 20 July, Mr. O'Sullivan left Chinsura with the troops proceeding to Berhampore. He was expected back in three weeks; meanwhile his absence would be felt not only at Chinsura but at Chandernagore, whence "several persons used on Sundays to travel to Chinsurah for Mass at Mr. O'Sullivan's little Chapel." (*B. C. E.*, 1840, Vol. III, p. 46).

The Bengal Catholic Herald, Calcutta, 1841, July 31, p. 284, announces that, on the representation of Dr. Carew, the next Vicar Apostolic of Bengal, the Supreme Government had sanctioned the appointment of a Catholic Chaplain for Berhampore (Bengal). "The Rev. Mr. O'Sullivan, we understand, has been appointed to Berhampore, and his place at Chinsurah is to be supplied for the present by the Rev. Mr. Moré, [S. J.], who is to do duties both at Chinsurah and at Chandernagore."

On Dec. 30, 1841, Confirmation was administered at Chinsura by Dr. Pezzoni, Bishop of Esbona, and Vicar Apostolic of the Tibet-Hindustan Mission, to 68 persons, mostly recruits, who were about to proceed to the United Provinces. Dr. Carew of Calcutta was at the time detained in Calcutta by the expected arrival of the Loreto Nuns. (*Cf. B. C. H.*, 1842, Jan. 22, p. 45). The Catholic Chapel used by the Military Chaplain appointed by Dr. Carew was still in 1842 the building which Messrs. Lackersteen and Brothers placed gratuitously at the disposal of the Catholic community. (*Ibid.*, 1842, Apr. 23, p. 228.)

On Saturday, July 7, 1842, Dr. Carew confirmed at Chinsura 25 persons, mostly recruits about to join their Regiments in the United Provinces. (*Cf. B. C. H.*, 1842, July 16, p. 31.)

The apostacy of Frei Fulgencio de S. Rita, the Augustinian Friar, is related at great length in the *B. C. H.*, 1842, Vol. II, pp. 112, 269, 314; Vol. III, pp. 34, 38, 39.

On Wednesday, Nov. 15, 1843, Dr. Carew confirmed 18 persons at Chinsura, chiefly recruits of H. M.'s Regiments en route to the Upper Provinces. They had been prepared by Father Boulogne, S. J. of Chandernagar. (*B. C. Herald*, Calcutta, Vol. V, 1843, p. 283.)

On Jan. 9, 1844, Dr. Carew confirmed at Chinsura 32 persons, chiefly soldiers of the dépôt of H. M.'s Regt. established there. They had been prepared by the Rev. Fr. Boulogne, S. J. of Chandernagar. About 40 persons received Holy Communion on that occasion. (*B. C. H.*, 1844, Vol.

VI, p. 18.) One of the result of the Bishop's visit to Chinsura appears to have been that Mr. P. Barber of Chinsura, who had hitherto adhered to the Padroado, submitted to the Propaganda jurisdiction. (*Ibid.*, 1844, Vol. VI, p. 18.) On June 27, 1844, Dr. Carew again administered Confirmation to 40 persons at Chinsura and Holy Communion to 50. The Congregation was so large that more than 100 soldiers could see the ceremonies only from outside. At the end of the service, some of the non-commissioned officers and soldiers presented the Archbishop with Rs. 250 for the Orphanage of Calcutta and Rs. 45. 10 as. for the relief of the Gwalior Christians. (*B. C. H.*, 1844, Vol. VII, p. 3.) Another Confirmation service was conducted at Chinsura by Dr. Olliffe on Oct. 27, 1844, more than 20 of the military being confirmed. On Dec. 8, 25 others, about to march off to the Upper Provinces, received Confirmation at the hands of Dr. Olliffe. (*B. C. H.*, 1844, Vol. VII, pp. 240, 328.)

Dr. Carew reviewing the work done in his Vicariate during the year 1844 commends the zeal of the Rev. Mr. Boulogne at Chandernagar and Chinsura. "In both places, his mission had been productive of numerous blessings to the flock confided to him." (*B. C. H.*, 1845, Vol. VIII, Jan. 4, p. 2.)

On Jan. 19, 1845, Dr. Olliffe confirms about 25 recruits about to proceed to the United Provinces. (*B. C. H.*, 1845, Vol. VIII, p. 44.) A passing reference to Chinsura is found in a letter of Fr. Thomas Zubiburu, a Spanish Carmelite, dated Bow Bazar, Jan. 18, 1845. He visited Chinsura and states that owing to the zeal of Fr. Boulogne of Chandernagar the number of communicants both there and at Chinsura was on the increase (*ibid.*, pp. 44-45). Between May 11 and May 18, Fr. Zubiburu invested with the scapular 27 persons of Chinsura, all of whom went to Holy Communion (*ibid.*, p. 283). On Aug. 19, Dr. Carew confirmed 33 persons at Chinsura (*ibid.*, Vol. IX, p. 104.)

The following two letters show that at this time the Chaplain was fixed at least for a period at Chinsura.

Extract from a letter addressed to the Archbishop Vicar Apostolic by the Rev. Mr. Prendergast, Chinsurah.

Chinsurah, Oct. 28th, 1845.

My Lord Archbishop,

Everything goes on most prosperously here, thank God. We had forty communicants last Sunday morning and eleven the following morning. It is most consoling to witness the great improvement in the men. The little chapel is crowded every morning at Mass and also at night prayers. The choir sings at three different parts of the night prayers; the singing

is the greatest inducement to attend. I was never so impressed with the necessity of singing before. I pay the greatest attention to it myself, and am now perfect master of all they sing. I expect to be able to instruct those who may succeed the present men, and thus keep alive what has proved to be the means of doing so much good at present. The good cause of temperance is going on gloriously. It is now considered a great disgrace to be a drunkard. The Sergeants, Catholics and Protestants, are coming forward. It speaks well for our Fatherland that the poor Irish recruits who have come here lately are among the first to do everything good. They come in crowds to the confessional, and are if possible more anxious to join the cause of temperance. From all this we may reasonably expect that they will become the honour and support of our holy religion in India. My Lord, I never expected to enjoy such real happiness in India as I do from all I have here stated. Mr. McGirr could tell you how edified he was at everything he witnessed during his stay here.

We have some very bad cases in hospital. The Cholera has swept away a few good men during the last week. I would like to go to Calcutta next week to see after the Chalice and vestments, but I fear the state of the Hospital will not allow me. Hoping your Grace continues to enjoy good health,

I remain, My Lord, Yours truly in Christ,

John Prendergast.

(*Cl. B. C. H.*, No. 18, Nov. 1, 1845, Vol. IX, p. 239.)

Chinsurah

To The Most Rev. Dr. Carew, V. A. B.

The Rev. Mr. Prendergast has officiated at Chinsurah, for the last fourteen months. During that time, we have much pleasure in testifying that he has discharged his sacred duties with edification, advantage and kindness towards his congregation.

September 23rd, 1846.

John Vogel,

James Donoghue,

C. Brien,

M. W. Linch,

H. Handcock,

Simon Vogel,

E. Moore,

J. J. O'Brien,

Patk. McCarthy,

S. Sullivan.

(*Cl. B. C. H.*, No. 13, Sept. 26, 1846, Vol. XI, p. 172.)

*Letter of the Rev. J. Prendergast, Catholic Chaplain of Chinsurah,
To His Grace,—The Most Rev. Dr. Carew, V. A. B.*

My Dear Lord Archbishop,—Some time has now elapsed since I had the happiness to acquaint you of what has been done and is doing in this

part of the vineyard, which your Grace has confided to my care. When I had the happiness of doing so last year, it was to me a source of pleasure, to find that what I then communicated, had met your Grace's approbation, for which you imparted your paternal benediction, and should I now be so fortunate as to merit and receive the same, I shall consider myself highly favored, this day being the Anniversary of my Ordination at your Grace's hands. For the summer months, our Barrack might justly be called "the deserted village," as its brave occupants were called away to the scene of arms, many of whom, I regret to hear, are now in another world. During this dreary interval, I was left to ruminate on the past, and to console myself with the cheering reflection, that the time was fast approaching when I would again be employed in doing the holy work of "Him Who sent me." The 31st Regiment returning to Europe, being flushed with honour and victory, was the first to enliven the scene. Though their stay was short, I could perceive their conduct to be in unison with that character which they so honourably established and supported during their servitude in India. Next in succession and in number, was the 32nd Regiment, from Europe. The Catholic portion of the Regiment was recruited in Ireland on their late return from Canada. Great mortality had prevailed, particularly among the women and children, though nothing could exceed the attention of the Doctors, the care and vigilance of the officers to arrest its progress. As I was anxious to labour, I confess my desire was perfectly gratified. The Hospital and confessional scarcely left me a moment to spare, and whatever labour had been undergone in both, was amply remunerated on hearing their heartfelt pleasure, when breathing the sweetness and freshness of the life of grace. I never parted with men with more sincere regret, and never saw soldiers who felt more truly grateful for the attention paid them. They left on the 20th ultimo, for Agra, where no doubt they will have every peculiar facility of perfecting what they had here commenced. At present we have recruits for several regiments in the country. Though they have but lately come to this station, I am sure your Grace will be gratified to hear that thirty of those good people approached the holy Communion on last Sunday morning—several had done so during the previous week, and many are now being prepared to enjoy the same happiness, before they leave, in a few days, to join their respective regiments. They have afforded me much pleasure for the time being, and I hope they will continue to give the same, to those who will have the care of their spiritual concerns in future.

Knowing, as I do, the generous dispositions of the Catholic soldiers, with what delight, My Lord, could I expatiate on their liberality and attachment to their holy religion? Men who can be converted to the great purposes

of their Creator, if moulded by congenial hands. I have also an idea of their faults, but if their state of life is duly considered and the other circumstances in which it is the holy will of God to place them, it will be found by the reflecting mind, that they are wanting neither in liberality nor in the observance of the religion of their persecuted fathers. When I hear their great Milesian names, I conclude they must be the descendants of those fathers, who were, in days gone by, in affluence and honour in the Island of Saints, but through their undying attachment to that religion, which was their "life, their sweetness, and their hope," their properties were confiscated, and their sons are now obliged to serve their Queen in a foreign land.

Hoping this epitome may not be uninteresting to your Grace,

I am, My Lord Archbishop,
Your dutiful and obedient servant,
J. Prendergast,
Catholic Chaplain.

CHINSURAH, Dec. 21st, 1846.

(Cf. *B. C. H.*, Dec. 26, 1896, Vol. XI, p. 357.)

Mrs. G. A. Angelbert. [Engelbert?] of Arracan [Akyah?] sends Rs. 10 for the Chinsura Chapel. (*Ibid.*, 1846, Vol. XI, p. 358).

"Extract from a letter written by Rev. Mr. Prendergast, Chinsurah, to Rev. Mr. McCabe.

"Kindly tell the good Archbishop that over 100 approached the Holy Communion this week, and one good man was received into the one fold of the one Shepherd." (*B. C. H.*, 1847, Vol. XIII, Saturday, Nov. 20, p. 280.)

Mr. Simon Vogel of Chinsura sent on Oct. 22, 1850, Rs. 10 for the Bengal Catholic Orphanage, Calcutta. (*B. C. H.*, 1850, Vol. XIX, p. 223.)

Catholic Soldiers at Chinsurah.

To His Grace the Most Rev. Dr. Carew, Archbishop of Edessa, V. A. W. B.

My dear Lord Archbishop,—I am happy to inform your Grace that my humble exertions amongst the poor Irish soldiers are very successful. They flock around me to hear the word of God and ask for counsel and advice; their hearts and souls are cheered with the idea that a Priest is to remain with them for a few days, to afford them spiritual comfort, such as they were accustomed to receive from their good pastors in their own dear native country. Simple though my instructions may be in the discharge of the sacred

functions of my ministry, yet I feel happily convinced, that they are not in vain, for I find that these sincere Catholics, blessed as they are with the light of faith, guided and directed by the unerring Doctrine of Catholicity, and influenced by the sound principles of morality, so frequently inculcated, so earnestly recommended, and so deeply rooted in their minds from the earliest dawn of childhood, derive no inconsiderable benefit from them.

This consoling circumstance alone is more than sufficient to excite all the energies of my soul and induce me to labour strenuously amongst them; to complain of too much labour, I dare not, for I am too richly compensated by their piety and zeal. Notwithstanding the hardships they endured for four months' tedious passage from Europe, the very evening they reached this station, numbers of them came to visit the House of God, when in humble adoration of the Deity they bent their knee in the pious attitude of prayer, and poured forth from their grateful hearts and souls their fervent meed of praise and thanksgivings to their Maker for the rich ineffable blessings bestowed so graciously upon them.

My dear Lord Archbishop, all that these good honest soldiers require to render them faithful to their God and sincerely devoted to their Religion,—dutiful subjects to their beloved Sovereign, obedient, docile and serviceable servants to the authorities placed over them, is to give them free, unrestricted, uncontrolled religious liberty and a suitable place of worship, where after the various fatigues and labours of the day they feel anxious to retire, to relieve their minds in the devout contemplation of their Heavenly Maker; where, with all humility and simplicity of heart and soul, they may adore the God who made them, and cheerfully submit themselves to all the decrees of His Divine Providence. Give to the poor Irish Soldier a place for Divine Worship and you will find him to be a brave, active and obedient subject, and one faithfully punctual in the discharge of all his duties. No wonder; for at the shrine of prayer he learns to submit himself to the wise dispensations of Divine Providence; he soothes all his sorrows, and offers up to his Sovereign Lord his trials and difficulties through life, and with Christian fortitude, patience and heavenly resignation he submits himself to the holy will of God.

On this subject I shall say no more, save this, that if the authorities were aware of the many advantages resulting from having a British Clergyman amongst the Catholic Soldiers, in the different stations throughout all India, they would not hesitate for a moment to give them a suitable place for divine worship, nor take into consideration the trifling stipend absolutely requisite for the support of a Priest. But the poor Catholic soldier must anxiously pray for better days, and wait patiently for a more liberal Government; let him console himself, however, for the Priest will always be his friend, will stand by him on his bed of sickness, soothe all his sorrows and administer unto him.

the consoling spiritual rites of the One, Holy, Catholic and Apostolic Church. The poor soldiers feel very much disheartened at the idea of my leaving them so soon: should your Grace deem it proper to leave me here for seven or eight days more, I shall be most happy to remain; be assured, I have no sinecure amongst 400 Catholics, who are most anxious to comply with their religious duties, for I am occupied from morning till night with one duty or another, and I am certain that many of them will not be able to finish their confession, if I go this week to Calcutta.

An Irish soldier, who had been married in England by a Protestant Minister, tells me that he feels very unhappy, because the ceremony was not performed by a Clergyman of his own Church. He beseeches me most earnestly to marry him according to the rites of the Catholic Church and that his peace of mind will be restored. His Commanding Officer, he says, has no objection to his being married again.

A Protestant who was listening to me preaching on last Monday evening, is now preparing himself for baptism. At the request of his wife, who is a Catholic, I explained, last evening the nature and efficacy of the Sacrament of Penance; being well pleased with all he heard, he said that he would feel thankful to me if I explained to him the nature of the other Sacraments.

My dear Lord, please favour me with one or two lines and direct me with regard to what I am to do; excuse this tedious letter written in haste and I am afraid unintelligible.

In the interim, imploring your Grace's prayers and Apostolical benediction.

I have the honour to be, My Dear Lord,

Your affectionately and devotedly attached child,

Chinsurah, Nov. 12, 1851.

J. McCabe, Miss. Ap.

(*Cf. B. C. H.*, 1851, Vol. XXI, Nov. 22, p. 284.)

The arrangements adopted for visiting the stations out of Calcutta in 1852 were as follows:

"The Catholics of Serampore and Barrackpore have an opportunity afforded them on three Sundays in each month, of assisting at Mass and of approaching the Holy Sacraments. On the last Sunday of the month, the Priest visits the Catholics at Chinsurah, and officiates in the morning for them, whilst in the evening of the same day, provision is made, at no small expense, for having Vespers sung and a Sermon in English preached at the Serampore Catholic Church. It may be here observed that, ordinarily, the Priest who visits Serampore arrives there on Saturday and returns to Calcutta in the course of the following Monday, thus affording an abundant opportunity for the sick and all others disposed to do so, to profit of his Ministry. The

monthly outlay of the Archbishop for the carrying out of these arrangements and for the support of a clergyman is little, if at all, short of Sixty Rupees."

(Cl. B. C. H., No. 13, March 27, 1852, Vol. XXII, p. 171.)

Catholic Mission at Chinsurah.

My Dear Lord Archbishop and most Rev. Father,—Yesterday I wrote to your Grace, in order to inform you of my mission at Chinsurah; thanks to our Lord Jesus Christ, to His Blessed and Immaculate Mother, to St. Joseph, and particularly to my Patriarch and Father in Christ St. Francis, Protestant and Catholic fishes are coming every day into the net thrown from the bark of Peter.

This morning I received a Protestant into the bosom of the Holy Catholic Religion, to-morrow and the day after I shall receive the abjuration of two others, and I shall also baptise three children.

My dear Lord, I deserve not the grace granted to me by God, because I am a poor sinner. But seeing that God will honour the poor and lowly dress of St. Francis, I must say with my Patriarch in imitation of the Apostle: *mihi absit gloriari nisi in cruce Domini Nostri Jesu Christi.*

My dear Lord, before I leave Chinsurah, I wish to establish here the devotion of the Via Crucis; but, notwithstanding the special permission granted to me by His Holiness, I must ask your Grace's consent. I humbly beg your Grace to grant the same to me.

Permit me, my Lord, to ask your Grace for some books and Catechisms from Brother Francis for the Congregation of Chinsurah.

My dear Lord, notwithstanding my wish, I cannot go to Serampore for the next Sunday; I pray you to send a Priest to that station, for that festival; next week I will prepare the boys and girls for First Communion, and also some persons for Confirmation; when everything will be complete, I shall go back to Calcutta.

Asking your Grace's prayers and blessings for me, and for this Congregation, and kissing the Episcopal ring,

I remain, my dear Lord, And Most Rev. Father,
CHINSURAH, 28th April, 1853.

Your Grace's devoted servant,
F. Leon des Avranches, R. C. M.

(Cl. B. C. H., May 7, 1853, Vol. 24, p. 258.)

"The Reverend Father Leo having just completed, for the present, his Mission at Chinsurah, states that there are now quartered in the Dépôt there, 174 Catholics; of those 93 are soldiers' children. During his stay at Chinsurah, 71 approached the Sacrament of Penance, 64 the Holy Communion, 8 of them for the first time, and three Protestant adults, together

with two Protestant children received conditional Baptism and were admitted into the Catholic Church. The Rev. Father will resume his duties soon again at Chinsurah, in order to prepare the children and some adults also for Confirmation." (Cf. *B. C. H.*, May 14, 1853, Vol. 24, p. 268.)

Fr. Leo des Avranches was a French Capuchin who had lately come to Bengal. Before his mission at Chinsura, he had visited Midnapur. (Cf. *B. C. H.*, 1853, April 16, pp. 215-216, 228-229, 267-268.) During his stay in Bengal, he published some historical notes on Abyssinia, (Cf. *ibid.*, 1853, Vol. 24, p. 352; Vol. 25, pp. 4, 32, 104, 244).

Between June 19 and 25, 1853, "the Archbishop administered confirmation to nine persons at Chinsurah, three of whom were received lately into the Catholic Communion, having been previously attached to Protestantism. Twelve others of the *dépôt* at Chinsurah received Confirmation in Calcutta, at the Catholic Cathedral on last Pentecost Sunday. After Confirmation, the Archbishop and the Gentlemen who accompanied him to Chinsurah, were most courteously entertained at breakfast by Lieutenants Lecky and Ellis, the Officers in charge of the Detachments of H. M.'s 18th and 80th Regiments now quartered at Chinsurah." (Cf. *B. C. H.*, June 25, 1853, Vol. 24, p. 351.)

Copy of a Letter from the Rev. Father Leo, Missionary Apostolic, to his Grace the Archbishop of Edessa, V. A. W. B. [Vicar Apostolic of Western Bengal].

My dear Lord Archbishop,—The Sacred Congregation of the Propaganda has at last obtained from the English Government, the permission to erect a prefecture apostolic in the Seychelles Islands, from which place I was expelled two years ago by the intrigues of the Protestant minister. As the Sacred Congregation thinks that my return thither would be useful for the spiritual welfare of my ancient Neophytes, it has sent me an order to return to the Seychelles.

But being without means sufficient for this long voyage, I come, my dear Lord Archbishop, to recommend myself to the charity of your Grace, in order to be able to accomplish in all things the will of the Sacred Congregation.

Your Grace will excuse my liberty, because *charitas benigna et patiens est*.

I ask your Grace's benediction, while I remain,

Your obdt. servant and son,

CALCUTTA, 1st July,

F. Leo, Cap. Mis.

His Grace's Reply.

My Dear Father Leo,—I deeply regret your approaching departure from this Mission. For the several months, during which you have been engaged

in it, your amiable, edifying, apostolic and disinterested example and labours have been a just theme of admiration and joy, both to the Clergy and Laity, and to no one more than to me. With a spirit worthy of your Holy Founder, you never for a moment showed the least concern for any pecuniary stipend or return, for your unceasing and fruitful labours amongst us in the Holy Ministry. All this, I have already represented in suitable terms of commendation to the Sacred Congregation, in the hope that, after a time, at least, you may be permitted to return to this Mission, where you are so justly beloved by the Faithful. During my late visit to Chinsurah, I witnessed with delight the evidences of warm, affectionate attachment evinced towards you by the men, women and children of the detachments of Regiments, chiefly Irish, now quartered there. It grieved me, that it was not in my power to give a favourable answer to their earnest fervent petitions, to have you left among them; for such was their grateful anxiety on this head, that they said they would joyfully support you themselves, and share all they had with you, if you would but remain among them. I was proud of Catholic Ireland, when I saw the humblest and most neglected of her children doing honour to their Religion and Country, by exhibiting such affectionate reverence towards a Priest, who was a stranger and a Foreigner in their regard, solely on account of his sacred character, and because of his exalted virtues as a Priest, and as a humble Capuchin. You need not, my Dear Father Leo, fear that the faithful of Calcutta will allow you to be embarrassed for want of means, to pay your passage to Seychelles. No, far from it. For you will see, that in a few days you will have to answer, as our Lord's disciples answered, on the occasion of his thus interrogating them: "When I sent you without scrip or staff, did you want for anything?" And they answered, "No." So it will be also in your regard.—You came amongst us poor and humble as becomes an Apostolic Missionary. Whilst you were with us, you were content with food, and raiment, and now that you are about to leave, in order to resume your Apostolic labours in Seychelles, the Faithful of Calcutta will not, I feel confident, evince less generosity in providing for your present wants, than they have hitherto uniformly shown towards every other Missionary Apostolic, who stood in need of their assistance. I now beg to enclose Rs. 30 as my contribution towards your passage expences, and with great gratitude for the services you have rendered to religion here, and best wishes for your future welfare, I remain, my dear Father Leo,

Yours faithfully,

P. J. Carew,

Archbishop V. A. W. B.

CATHEDRAL HOUSE, 1st July 1853.

(*Cf. B. C. H.*, July 2, 1853, Vol. 25, pp. 5-6.)

Letter of the Rev. Fr. Leo des Avranches to his Grace the Archbishop V. A. W. B.

My Very Dear Lord Archbishop and Most Rev. Father,—I cannot leave Calcutta without expressing to your Grace my very sincere thanks for all your Lordship has done for me during the time I remained in this Mission.

Your Grace's virtues, your real Apostolic disinterestedness, have truly excited my profound admiration. But your charity, kindness and affection for all, and particularly for me have captivated my heart and soul, and so, in leaving your Grace, I lose a good Father, a kind Prelate, under whom it is so easy to work in the Vineyard of Christ.

But soldier of the Gospel as I am, I am obliged to be obedient till death and to break with the feelings of my heart. So, my dear Lord, receive my sincere thanks, and, if I have in any way offended your Grace, I pray you to forgive my faults with the charity of Christ.

I thank also very sincerely all the Catholics of this Mission, who by their charitable alms have given me the means to proceed to Seychelles. I beg them to be charitable enough to join to their temporal charity the spiritual vaticum of their prayers, in order that God may remove every kind of difficulty and give me the grace to do always His Holy Will.

In my poor prayers, my dear Lord, I will remember every day my benefactors of Calcutta, in order to discharge myself of the spiritual debt, which I have contracted there. And if a glass of water given to a poor person in the name of the Lord shall be rewarded, what will be the recompense and merits of the pious persons who have contributed in my ministry to the propagation of the Gospel?

Benedicat me dextera tua, my Lord, and bless also my poor flock, whom I recommend to the prayers of your Grace and the Faithful.

I remain, my dear Lord Archbishop and most Rev. Father.

Your very obedient and devoted son,

F. Leo des Avranches,

Miss. Ap. Ord. Cap. and pro Mis. Apos. of Seychelles.

CALCUTTA, 17th Aug. 1853.

(*Cl. B. C. H.*, Aug. 20, 1853, Vol. 25, pp. 106-107.)

News about Fr. Leo des Avranches' journey and work in the Seychelles is given in the *B. C. H.*, 1854, Vol. 26, Febr. 11, pp. 37-74, and in a letter of Père Leo from the Seychelles, Febr. 14, 1854. (*Ibid.*, 1854, May 20, Vol. 26, pp. 270-271.)

*Confirmation at Chinsurah.**Chapel Accommodation for the Catholic Military at Chinsurah and Fort William.*

On last Tuesday, the octave of the Assumption of the B. V. Mary, the Archbishop, Vicar Apostolic W. B., administered the Sacrament of Confirmation to 47 male adults of the 3d Regt. of European Bengal Fusiliers, in the Chapel set apart in the Chinsurah Barracks, for the use of the Roman Catholic Military. The apartment, which now serves as a Roman Catholic Chapel is in every respect unfit for this present purpose. It is entirely too small for the Congregation of about 600 persons which resorts to it.—It is very badly ventilated; for, whilst the North and South aspects are wholly closed up, there is on the East side merely a small door for entrance, the West side, which is in this country, especially where there is no current, the least useful for ventilation, being the only one left open for the admission of air into the edifice.

We assure our readers that we do not exaggerate, when we state that it was a most distressing spectacle to behold six or seven hundred Europeans, Men, Women and Children, not merely crowded, but packed together, like herrings in a barrel, in this wretched godown, unfit to serve even for a Gentleman's Stable. Yet there that large Congregation had, as on every Sunday, to assemble also on last Tuesday, in order to assist at the Sacred Solemnity already designated.

Before the Ceremony had half terminated the Archbishop together with his Assistant Priest, Rev. Mr. Cheroutre, as well as every one present, even the youngest and most robust, was bathed in perspiration and quite exhausted by occasion of the confined, oppressive atmosphere of the apartment—and yet the day was, on the whole, by no means a hot one. It was, on the contrary, cloudy, and rendered agreeable by a gentle breeze from the South. Whilst touching on this subject, we may also advert to the similar wretched Chapel accommodation provided in Fort William, in what we are told is an abandoned Stable, for a Catholic Congregation of more than 500 persons. The grievance with regard to Fort William Roman Catholic Chapel has been, again and again, urged on the notice of Government, even by several Protestant Military Officials. But all to no purpose. When H. M.'s 18th Royal Irish Regt., which numbered on its roll 8 or 900 Catholics, was quartered in Fort William, the excuse then alleged for not giving the Catholic Soldiers suitable Chapel accommodation is said to have been that their particular case was only a transitory one, as it was not to be expected that any other Regiment, which might succeed the Royal Irish in Fort William, would contain an equal number of Catholics.

We have reason to know, that a like paltry, degrading subterfuge has been adopted in the way of excuse, for not providing proper Chapel accommodation at Chinsurah for the Catholics of the 3d Bengal European Fusiliers.

The policy which dictates this unworthy course of conduct towards the Catholic Military in India bespeaks not merely gross bigotry, but also, even in a human point of view, a narrow, short-sighted spurious political economy. For by occasion of it, not only are one-half or a third of the Soldiers excluded for want of Chapel accommodation from assisting on days of obligation at Mass and religious instructions, but, even with regard to those who can attend at Divine Service, their condition is rendered so pitiable by the close confined atmosphere of the Chapel, that the Priest feels it proper to detain the Congregation as briefly as possible.

Hence again, the duty of assisting at Divine Worship is rendered in the way just mentioned distasteful and oppressive to the Catholic Soldiers, and in these circumstances it is not surprising that, from time to time, many of them should profit of any excuse that may offer, to absent themselves from it, especially in a climate like that of India. This neglect of religious duty naturally leads those guilty of it to other irregularities and transgressions against military discipline. Imprisonment and other punishments, always detrimental in a pecuniary, as well as in a moral point of view to the public service, are sure to follow, as a matter of course, and thus, oftentimes, a Soldier, who, had his religious wants been in time duly attended to, would have done credit to himself and his Corps, becomes not only a useless, but even a dangerous character.

Moreover, especially in those Regiments, in which Catholics and Protestants are about equally numerous, and still more in those Corps, and there are not a few of them, in which the number of Catholics greatly preponderates over that of their Protestant Comrades, it must prove a humiliating and, at the same time, a very irritating annoyance to a Catholic Officer, or private, to see that, whilst his Protestant fellow-Soldiers, without any superior claim on the score of bravery or good conduct have a Church abundantly furnished with the luxuries, if we may so speak, of public worship, he, nevertheless, is consigned to a receptacle, by an egregious misnomer, called a Chapel, which an English Nobleman would feel ashamed to make use of almost even for his kennel.¹

(*Cl. B. C. H.*, No. 9, Aug. 26, 1854, Vol. 27, pp. 115—116.)

¹ *The B. C. H.* was examined up to June 1855 inclusively. For the contents we had, however, to trust the indexes. The volumes from June 1855 to June 1865 are wanting in the Gotha's Indian Library of St. Xavier's College.

No. 5530.

To DR. THOMAS OLLIFFE, Bishop & Vicar of Bengal.

FORT WILLIAM, 12th January, 1856.

Sir,—With reference to your letter of 8th January current, I have the honour to inform you, that, as the Barracks at Chinsurah are about to be improved and extended, I regret that I cannot without the orders of Government comply with your application to provide Quarters for one of your Clergymen. If however you will refer the matter to Government, I will be happy to comply promptly with any orders I may receive.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

Sd. ? Colonel.

Chief Engineer, Lower Provinces.

No. 781.

To The Bishop and Vicar Apostolic of Bengal.

Mily: Dept.

Right Reverend Sir,

In reply to your letter of the 29th. January 1856, I am desired to state that, upon enquiry in the proper quarter, it appears that there is no spare room in the Barracks at Chinsurah, nor is there any quarter available there for the Roman Catholic Clergyman.

I am, Right Revd. Sir,

Your most obedt. Servant,

?

Council Chamber, Secretary to the Govt. of India in the Mily: Dept.
FORT WILLIAM, The 28th. March, 1856.

To Colonel Birch,

Military Secretary to the Government of India.

Sir, May I beg you will represent to the most Noble the Governor-General in Council that the room now used in the Chinsurah Barracks as a Catholic Chapel, being on the ground floor, is damp and unsuited for that sacred purpose, and therefore that I should feel very thankful, if His Lordship would kindly direct it to be exchanged for a drier and more airy apartment upstairs, and would order suitable quarters to be granted to the Chaplain whom I intend locating there on the arrival of the new detachment.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

[Sd.] T. Olliffe.

Bishop and Vicar Apostolic of Western Bengal.

CATHOLIC CATHEDRAL, 29th January, 1856.

No. 377.

From R. B. Chapman, Esqr.,

Offg. Under-Secr. to the Govt. of India, Home (Ecclesl.) Dept.

To The Right Revd. T. Olliffe, D. D.,

Bishop & Vicar Apostolic of Western Bengal.

Dated the 20th February, 1857.

Right Revd. Sir,—I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, dated the 29th December last, soliciting sanction to certain monthly charges for the Chapels at Dum Dum and Chinsurah.

2. The Right Hon'ble the Governor-General in Council is of opinion that the following scale will suffice for each of the Chapels, and this has been accordingly sanctioned:—

	Rs.
1 Furash	5
1 Sweeper	3
Lighting	10
Contingencies	5
	—
Total	23
	—

3. With regard to the charges on account of organists and singers, His Lordship in Council observes that he is precluded from sanctioning any expense on this account, the Hon'ble the Court of Directors having repeatedly expressed the opinion that such charges are to be defrayed by the Congregations of the respective Churches.

4. The necessary communication will be made through the Military Department, to the Military Auditor General, to pass the charges for the Chapels at Dum Dum and Chinsurah, on the above scale for this month.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

(Sd.) R. B. Chapman,

Offg. Under-Secr. to the Government of India.

No. 271.

Ordered that a Copy of the foregoing letter be sent to the Military Department, in continuation of the communication from the Financial Department, dated the 6th instant.

R. B. Chapman,

Offg. Under-Secr. to the Government of India.¹

¹ These last four documents are reproduced from copies.

"A rumour has got abroad, we know not on what authority, and we shall be very happy to hear it contradicted if false, and give publicity to the contradiction, that the Goanese Catholic Church and Cemetery at Chinsurah are about to be sold to the Rajah of Burdwan. We believe that up to the present time no contract of sale has been concluded, and we sincerely hope that such a thing will not take place, for it grates upon one's religious feelings to think that a temple of the true God in which the Divine Mysteries of redemption have been so often celebrated, should be made over to a pagan hindoo; and who knows, perhaps converted into a Pagoda of Kali or Doorga. And then again, what will become of the graves and of the remains of the Christian dead? Who will guarantee them from desecration? And have not the friends of the deceased who have purchased vaults in the cemetery some voice in the matter? Surely these considerations should make the projectors pause before the final step.

(Cl. *Indo-Europ. Corresp.*, 1867, Jan. 19, p. 29.)

To The Editor of the "Indian Daily News and Bengal Hurkaru."

Sir,—What will you say to the following report? The Roman Catholic Church is sold to the Maharaja of Burdwan for 15,000 Rupees; the conclusion of the bargain is delayed for the sanction of the Archbishop of Goa.

Now you know well that all the graves were purchased by the relatives of the deceased; can they again be sold? This is for the public, or those interested, to say or find out. I myself will look upon it as faith broken to the public by the seller,—at least I hope that the public papers will give their full opinion.

Yours, &c.,

One Interested.

(Cl. *Indo-Europ. Corresp.*, 1867, Jan. 19, p. 40.)¹

Rumours are in circulation that the Chinsurah depôt will shortly be removed to Allahabad. This step will become a matter of necessity with the opening of the overland route, when Calcutta will cease to be a military port of embarkation, or will, at latest, only continue to discharge that office until the railway line be completed between Agra and Bombay.—*Englishman*.

(Cl. *Indo-Europ. Corresp.*, 1867, March 2, p. 124.)

1. The Old Portuguese Church was not sold, but, perhaps the adjoining property, which till quite recently belonged to the Maharaja of Burdwan. In that case were there any graves in that property? In the Church itself there are only 2 inscriptions, and the grounds around it are so narrow that they can never have been used for a cemetery. It is scarcely likely that the old Catholic Cemetery, about a 3 minutes' walk from the Church, be alluded to in the above passages.

To The Editor of the Indo-European Correspondence.

Dear Sir,

The question, long mooted, as to the existence or non-existence of Chinsurah as a military station or depôt, will be shortly decided, probably within the next 4 or 5 months. A few days ago, I was told by an officer that the Secretary of State for India, Sir Stafford Northcote, had given an order, that a plan and map of the cantonments and of the whole station of Chinsurah should be drawn out and sent to him as soon as possible. The fiat of the great man will then be uttered and our fate will be decided. It is indeed to be hoped that his decision will be favourable; for it would be a great pity to let our splendid range of barracks, our magnificent hospital, and the officers' quarters go to ruin and decay, or even to apply them to any other purpose. As a military station, it is a thousand degrees superior to Dum-Dum, and has many advantages over it. It is within a favourable distance of Calcutta, so that troops and recruits arriving from Europe can be landed here at the very end of the barracks, without going to Calcutta, and, being situated at a short distance from the Railway, invalids and time-expired men can be comfortably accommodated until the ships be ready to receive them. The great and, in fact, only objection to it, is its smallness. The cantonments are very circumscribed and are almost surrounded by bazaars. They form as nearly as possible the segment of a circle, of which the chord is the third of a mile long, and the perpendicular about one-fourth of a mile. A few months ago, Sir John Lawrence visited the station, and it seems that his opinion was very favourable to it, as he gave orders that the boundaries should be greatly extended. Mr. Montessor, the Commissioner of the district, came here for the purpose of carrying out the orders of the Viceroy, but after remaining here for some weeks, busily engaged in examining, surveying and estimating the values of the houses and grounds, proposed to be purchased by the Government and added to the Cantonments, the expense was found to be so great, that the matter was allowed to drop. I was told that 50 lacs was the sum estimated, and the Government of India not having that small sum ready at hand, Chinsurah is still *in statu quo*. The station is well drained and kept very clean, the barracks and hospital well ventilated, and the consequence is that it is very healthy. Even during the last cold season, when many hundreds of invalids passed through here, the deaths were very few, and those who died here, brought death with them into the station in the shape of asthma, consumption, dysentery, etc. The Commanding Officer, Captain Brown, is, to use a hackneyed phrase, the right man in the right place. It was he who, by his own unaided exertions, caused the Government to increase the pay of the soldier wives, from Rs. 3 to Rs. 8 per month, and many stories could be told of his kindly feelings towards poor widows and orphans. He is a strict but

kind old soldier, who performs his own duties faithfully, and at the same time takes care that all his subordinates do theirs; a fact to which they will all testify. He possesses the very admirable quality, one not very common in superiors, of seeing everything, not with the eyes of others, but with his own eyes. Every day, at no stated hour, he walks round the cantonments, visits the barracks, hospital and out-houses, and, if he finds anything wrong or out of order, the head of that particular department is sent for, and has a gentle hint and caution administered to him to mind his business better. Our great drawback to this station, however, is the want of a Catholic Chapel for the soldiers. The Chapel at present, and for the last 20 years, is simply a godown. On its right are the Commissariat stores of rum and beer; on the left are the Quarter Master's stores; on top other store-rooms, and in front (oh! tell it not in Gath) are the public privies. It will contain about 180 persons, whilst very often there are 350 or 400 Catholics to attend Divine worship. It is indeed to be hoped that, should the great man in London decide in favour of Chinsurah being continued as a military depôt or station—and there is no doubt but he will—the Government of India will, for its own credit at least, provide some other place as a Catholic Chapel. The Protestant Church is the old one built by the Dutch; the Presbyterians have a snug, tidy little chapel; the Armenians have a pretty Church; the Portuguese Chapel is not yet commenced, but the ground is ready; but every place of worship in the station is superior to the ugly little Chapel of the Catholic soldiers. Now as Mrs. Gamp says, "such a state of things hought never for to be," so we will have patience for a few months longer until we hear what Sir Stafford Northcote will say, and then we will loudly tell the Government what we think, and say to them that they must and shall give us a little Chapel in which we will have room, at least, to breathe in on Sunday mornings when we assemble to worship God.

(*Cf. Indo-European Correspondence*, Calcutta, 1867, Nov. 2, p. 610.)

We are glad to state that the Rev. Fr. O'Donoghue, Catholic Chaplain of Chinsurah, whose leg was lately broken by a fall, is now in a fair way to recover, though still suffering severely from the injuries he has received.

(*Cf. Indo-Europ. Corresp.*, April 10, 1869, p. 197.)

APPENDIX C.

REFERENCE TO BANDEL AND CHINSURA.

We have had occasion of handling repeatedly all the Catholic newspapers of Calcutta from 1839 to the present day. As we went along, we noted some references to Bandel and Chinsura, but it was only at a late stage of our researches that we thought of marking all the passages. Our index does not, therefore, dispense the future historian of the Portuguese Missions in Bengal from going again laboriously through most of the volumes we have handled.

In the Bengal Catholic Herald.

Bondel.—1847, Pt. II, 263-4; 149, Pt. 2, Letter from Bandaharia, Hooghly Dt., 191-2; 38, (Bandel Novena), Pt. 1, 2, 19, 120, 144.

In the Indo-European Correspondence.

Chitaura.—1867, 610.

Bondel.—1873, 665; Bishops of Malabar (by Col. A. S. Allen), 174. '74—5 (all); '76 nothing noted, except perhaps at pages 171, 801-3, 822-3, 931-6, 931, 971-5; '77, 928, 941-2; '78, 208, 807, 948; '79, 81, 188, 428-9, 661-8, 706, 881, 901, 931; '80, 421, 861; '81, 218, 412, 557, 1105, 1106; '82, 169, 182, 204, 577, 612, 817, 1105, 1129-40; '83, 158, 444, 1057, 1081, 1092, 1117-8; '84, 228-9, 1057, 1081, 1093, 1115; '85, 152, 159, 182, 457, 1033, 1057, 1094; '86, 222, 231, 253, 1038, 1094; '87, 173, 192, 1057, 1094; '88, 182-3, 481, 1083, 2005, 2018-9; '89, 219, 253, 342, 1057, 1086, 1118, 1145-6; '90, 182, 208, 470-1, 540, 577, 614-5, 1086, 1116; '91, 121, 158, 656, 1033, 1057, 1093; '92, 1033, 1057, 1093; '93, 150, 180-1, 481, 490, 503, 1057, 1081, 1117; '94, 121, 157, 481, 1057, 1081; '95, 150, 209, 278, 325, 481, 541, 638, 865, 1057, 1081, 1093, 1118; '96, 145, 169, 181, 204, 457, 470, 494, 543, 854, 1032, 1057, 1095; '97, 193, 229, 481, 589 (his), 660, 877, 935, 1033, 1093; '98, 481, 541, 1022-3, 1045 (his), 1057, 1069, 1093-4; '99, 157, 181, 447, 481, 493, 517, 1080, 1094, 1140; 1900, 206, 228, 481, 516, 780, 803-4, 948, 1045, 1057, 1081, 1091, 1116; 1901, 181, 204, 1081, 1093, 1117; 1902, 145, 180-1, 451, 492, 1095, 1118.

In the Catholic Herald of India.

1903, 13, 181, 205, 470, 1071; '04, 181, 446, 1069; '05, 493, 1069; '06, 207, 496, 1095; '07, 335, 737; '08, 157, 352, 722; '09, 125, 287, 318, 718; '10, 94, 163, 328, 724; '11, 145, 170, 209, 337, 722.

H. HOSTER, S. J.



THE HEBER MONUMENT. MADRAS CATHEDRAL.

Leaves from the Editor's Note-Book.

IT may be supposed that the following order of Council achieved the result desired, but, in case the evil complained of should repeat itself, it will serve a useful purpose if the following Circular be reprinted. It must, however, be conceded that in ordinary business practice requires that all letters should be signed in such a way as to call for the services of an expert to identify the person of the writer.

TO JOHN REED, ESQR.
At Chittagong.

FORT WILLIAM,
The 6th August, 1773.

SIR,

Understanding it has been the custom of some of our Collectors to correspond with each other in the Persian Language, we now think it necessary expressly to prohibit this practice, as well [because] it is improper between English Collectors, as because when they are not possessed of an immediate and actual knowledge of that language, it may occasionally subject them to be imposed upon by their Munshees, and be productive of the consequence of embroiling the officers of the respective Districts.

We have not had any information of this practice having been adopted by you, but we circulate these directions to you that they may remain an outstanding order in your Collectorship.

We are, Sir, etc.,
W. ALDERSEY.
P. M. DACRES.
H. GOODWIN.
J. GRAHAM.

An even more objectionable practice than conducting official correspondence in an unknown tongue was the habit of taking leave from India without first acquainting the proper authority with the fact of one's departure. It will perhaps tend to strengthen the hands of the Accountant-General if we

reproduce a decision of the Governor-General and Council of date 29th January, 1781.

"It having been lately found to have been a practice with persons belonging to the Hon'ble Company's Service of going to Europe not to allow their request of the Board's permission for the purpose to be delivered until they have left the place, the Board think proper to give public notice that persons so acting in future will not be permitted to resign the Hon'ble Company's Service but as quitting it without leave, and that proper notice of their conduct will be regularly transmitted to the Hon'ble Court of Directors."

It must be confessed that regulations of the kind are calculated to restrict the amenities of an honourable profession, and are therefore to be regretted. To take leave without first applying for it might be supposed to be the same thing as taking "French leave": but is this the case? "French leave" appears to be the soldier's claim to take what he chooses at his own valuation. On the other hand, Dr. Brewer tells us that "even to the present time" a Frenchman who wishes to excuse himself from going to a café or a theatre, because he is in debt, exclaims "Non, non, Je suis Angli." *i.e.* "I am cleared out." The anxiety of the Company's Servants in the latter part of the eighteenth century to leave Bengal, was not the want but the abundance of money.

The following extracts from the Letter of the Court of Directors to Bengal, dated 16th March, 1768, are of considerable interest. Paragraph 27, which deals with the propriety of the Governor making an annual tour, shows in a most striking way the limits of the office which Warren Hastings took over in 1772 and left so great in 1785.

THE COURT OF DIRECTORS TO BENGAL,
16th March, 1768.

17. We are very well pleased with your attention to our interest in increasing the revenues of the Calcutta lands, yet at the same time we must repeat our directions that, having once nearly ascertained the value of these or any other lands, you should let them on long leases, lest new demands should give use to new oppressions.
18. We are very well satisfied with the collection of the Revenues at Burdwan. We observe you have recalled the Council established there except one servant. We take it for granted that

you found it necessary to leave him there; yet his office requires some explanation as we do not see what use he is of, the administration being entirely in the hands of the Rajah, who, having executed his *Kistbunder*, has nothing more to do than to pay in the amount of the appointed periods.

19. We do not very well understand your motives for consenting to advances of money to the Midnapore Zemindars for the cultivation of their lands. If it is to be applied to the cultivation of waste or the improvement of poor lands, it may be very right, because it will ultimately tend to the increase of the revenues, but we fear it may open a door to bad debts and chicanery.
20. We observe with pleasure Mr. Graham's assiduity in investigating the state of the provinces of Midnapore and Jellalore, and hope you have turned your attention to applying proper remedies to the distresses of those Provinces arising from the overflowings of the rivers and the want of hands for cultivation. The banking of the rivers is an object of such public utility as merits your countenance. You will, therefore, do well to advance the money to the Rajahs or Zemindars necessary for that purpose, or do it on the Company's account conditionally that the rent shall be raised in proportion. By this assistance and by letting the uncultivated lands or talooks on long leases, industry will be left to its free course, and we imagine population will follow.
21. We are very glad that Mahomed Reza Cawn has acquitted himself so much to your satisfaction. Assure him of our approbation and protection, and of the sense we entertain of his services.
23. We do not approve the permitting the Ministers to hold lands on their own account, it being a contradiction in the nature of their office that they should hold those countries over which themselves are established a check and controul: and, therefore, we think permitting Mahomed Reza Cawn to hold the Nabobship of Dacca is improper.
24. We have no reason to suspect that the province of Dacca is not let to the best advantage, yet we cannot avoid taking notice of your omitting to reply to an observation we made in our letter of the 19th February 1766 on the dispute between the late Nabob Meer Jaffier and Mahomed Reza Cawn on the deficiency in the Dacca Revenues, and we are further to remark that in an estimate of the Revenues in our possession (a copy of which is a number in the packet), the province of Dacca is estimated at Rupees 25,13,867. The expences of the collections are also higher than any other

province. Upon the whole we think this subject merits an enquiry.

25. We expect to hear a rigorous scrutiny was made into the great deficiency in the Revenues of Dinagepore and that the rank or importance of the offender has not exempted him from justice.
26. We are desirous to have the security of property so much established in the Provinces as the nature of the Government and disposition of the people will admit. With this view, we wish to see as much of the spirit of our laws of inheritance adopted by the Country Government as can be made agreeable to them, particularly that they should relax from the power of seizing the effects of those who die without children, and also adopt the right of bequeathing by will. These, we conceive, would be the best means of discouraging the secret hoarding of money and establishing a right in the subject to their property. You will be the best judges how far this can be done, consistent with the claims of the Rajahs and landholders and the established customs of the country.
27. We do not altogether agree with Lord Clive in the necessity of the Governors making an annual tour of the Provinces. The majesty and dignity of the Government still resides in the Nabob and his ministers, and they only are known to the inhabitants as the power to whom they are accountable. Any great violence or oppressions will most probably reach the ear of the Resident at the Darbar who can immediately exercise his influence to get them redressed. But, if the Governor carries with him in his tour the authority of the State, it gives the subject the idea of a divided Government. If, nevertheless it is found necessary, we expect it shall be made without ostentation or expensive parade.

In the letter just quoted, the Directors desire to assure Mahomed Reza Cawn "of our approbation and protection, and of the sense we entertain of his services." Alas! so nigh is grandeur to our dust! In the 78th paragraph of their letter of March 17, 1769, the Directors inflict a "very severe censure" on their Council in Bengal for withholding information as to "the charge against Mahomed Reza Cawn of not having accounted to the Nabob Meer Jaffier [Mir Jafar] for the revenues of the Dacca Province." By the letter of the Directors of 10th April 1771 it appears that Mahomed Reza Khan had accepted the farm of the revenues of the Dacca *Chakla* at the rate of Rs. 38,86,242: but he had actually paid in only Rs. 29,63,281. There might be a sufficient explanation for the discrepancy, but the Directors



SACRED TO THE MEMORY
OF THE RIGHT REV. THOMAS DEALTRY D.D.
LORD BISHOP OF THIS DIOCESE

WHO LABOURED FAITHFULLY IN THE SERVICE OF THE GOSPEL IN INDIA
HE WAS APPOINTED A CHAPLAIN ON THE BENGAL ESTABLISHMENT IN THE YEAR 1829
AND SUBSEQUENTLY HELD THE OFFICE OF ARCHDEACON OF CALCUTTA FOR 14 YEARS
HE ENTERED INTO REST ON THE 5TH OF MARCH 1861 IN THE 66TH YEAR OF HIS AGE
AND THE TWELFTH OF HIS EPISCOPATE.

THIS MONUMENT IS ERECTED BY FRIENDS IN INDIA
IN TESTIMONY OF THE ESTEEM AND VENERATION WHICH HIS EARNEST AND DEVOTED PIETY
COMBINED WITH A DISPOSITION NATURALLY KIND AND GENEROUS
SECURED TO HIM FROM ALL CLASSES IN THIS PRESIDENCY.

THE DEALTRY MONUMENT. MADRAS CATHEDRAL

complained that the Calcutta authorities had left the matter uninvestigated.

On August 28, 1771, the Directors wrote :

13. The numberless complaints which you say you have received from the merchants of Calcutta respecting the Salt Trade and the perwannahs granted under the seal of Mahomed Reza Cawn for a monopoly of the trade for three years, exhibit a scene so contrary to our expectations, so opposite to our intentions, and so contradictory to our positive commands, that we can by no means approve your conduct either towards Mahomed Reza Cawn or Telukee Ram, the latter of whom, under different Zemindars, was, it seems, the man appointed to the actual monopoly of that article. We are well persuaded that Mahomed Reza Cawn could not be so easily imposed upon, as he pretended to have been, by persons who are said to have solicited the perwannahs. It is not at all probable that he could believe that these salt works were unoccupied, while so many merchants were even clamorous for a share in the trade. Even supposing he had believed it, as he owns that he was at that time in Calcutta, his plain duty was to have represented the matter directly to our Governor and Council, and not to have granted very extraordinary privileges to individuals in direct contradiction to the Company's orders, with which he was perfectly acquainted. But it appears to us very probable that Mahomed Cawn's undue influence had totally discouraged the merchants, and it is no wonder they became willing to receive their money when they could no longer indulge.

On the following day, the Directors added :—

14. As Mahomed Reza Cawn had the express orders of the Company and the regulations of the Committee before him for his guidance, we are greatly astonished that he should presume, on such frivolous pretences, to disobey the one and totally disregard the other : and, it is impossible, after detecting him in such conduct, that we should any longer consider him as a proper object of that full confidence hitherto reposed in him. We have in this transaction the clearest proof of his secretly counteracting our positive commands, and we must conclude that he will not scruple to repeat the same practices whenever self-interest and a favourable opportunity occurs for that purpose.

On the 29th August, the Directors wrote:—

18. Notwithstanding we observe that Mahomed Reza Cawn complained of a monopoly of rice being carried on by other persons, we have received information that he himself, in the very height of the famine, has been guilty of great oppressions; That he has been guilty of stopping the merchants' boats, loaded with rice and other provisions intended for the supply of Muxadavad, and has forcibly compelled owners to sell their rice to him, at a price so cheap as from 25 to 30 Seers per Rupee and re-sold it afterwards at the rate of 3 or 4 seers Per Rupee, and all other eatables in proportion; and that altho' it is affirmed this conduct of Mahomud Reza Cawn has operated in the destruction of many thousands of people, yet it has been overlooked by those in power, who ought to have prevented him from acting in a manner so inhuman, and so very unworthy the station which he fills, as Naib Dewan of the Province of Bengal.
19. We have repeatedly directed you to enquire into the very large balances said to be due from Mahomud Reza Cawn on account of the Dacca Revenues; and upon the whole, nothing of consequence has been produced by our frequent orders on this subject. But after such a discovery of flagrant duplicity in Mahomud Reza Cawn, we cannot persuade ourselves that his bare assertion, of having accounted for all the money collected, ought to have the least credit with us. The unadjusted balances amount to a very large sum, and we are determined that either he shall prove to us, that he did not collect the whole Revenue, and what part was remitted, and to whom all abatements were specifically made, or refund to the Sircar all the balances due from the chucla of Dacca during the time he rented the Revenues of that District.
20. When we expected that the influence and protection of the Company would have had such happy effects throughout the Provinces of Bengal as would ensure to us a considerable increase in the Revenues of the Dewanny, we cannot but be deeply affected to see ourselves disappointed in that reasonable expectation and to experience such a reverse as now appears by the great diminution of these Revenues, particularly in the Province of Bahar. Indeed, when we turn our view to the flourishing state of Burdwan and the increasing revenue of that Province, under the immediate inspection our of servants, we cannot but conclude that the diminution of the Dewanny Revenues must have been owing

to the misconduct or malversation of those who have had the Superintendency of the collections.

21. But as we have further reasons to suspect that large sums have, by violent oppressive means, been actually collected by Mahomed Reza Cawn, on account of the Dewanny Revenues, great part of which he has appropriated to his own use, or distributed amongst the creatures of his power and the instruments of his oppressions, we should not think ourselves justified to the Company or the public were we to leave him in future the management of the Dewanny Collections; and as the transferring the like trust to any other minister could yield us little prospect of reaping any benefit from the change, we are necessitated to seek by other means the full advantage we have to expect from the grant of the Dewanny. It is therefore our determination to stand forth as Duan, and by the agency of the Company's servants, to take upon ourselves the entire care and management of the revenues. In confidence, therefore, of your abilities to plan and execute this important work, we hereby authorize and require you to divest Mahomed Reza Cawn and every person employed by or in conjunction with him or acting under his influence of any further charge or direction in the business of the collection; and we trust that in the office of Duan you will adopt such regulations and pursue such measures as shall at once ensure to us every possible advantage and free the ryots from the oppressions of zemindars and petty tyrants under which they may have been suffered to remain, from the interested view of those whose influence and authority should have been exerted for their relief and protection.
22. From the grounds that we have to suspect that Mahomed Reza Cawn has abused the trust reposed in him and been guilty of many acts of violence and injustice towards his countrymen, we deem insufficient the depriving him of a station which may be made subservient to the most corrupt purposes; it is therefore our pleasure and command that you enter into a minute investigation not only of the causes to which the decrease of revenue may be ascribed, but also into Mahomed Reza Cawn's general conduct during the time the Dewanny revenues have been under his charge. And, as the several complaints and accusations already noticed to you, are of a nature too serious to be suffered to pass over without the most rigid enquiry, we have directed our President to order him to repair to Calcutta there to answer to the facts which shall be alleged against him, both in respect to his

public administration and private conduct. And while we enjoin you to pursue your researches with unremitting care and attention, we expect you to obtain not only a just and adequate restitution of all sums which may have been withheld from the Circar or the Company, either by embezzlement or collusion, but also the redress of such injuries as individuals may have sustained by the exercise of his power or the effects of his avarice.

23. As such appearances of corrupt practices in the administration of Mahomed Reza Cawn leave us room to apprehend that he may have been equally unfaithful in the discharge of the trust he held under the Nabob, we further direct that you make a full and strict enquiry concerning the application of the large sums which have passed through his hands on account of the annual stipends paid to successive Nabobs in consequence of the Treaty in 1765 for the maintenance of their family and the charge of sepoy's for the support of their dignity and if it shall appear that any part thereof has not been duly accounted for by him, we require you to demand and receive for the benefit of the Circar the amount of all such sums as he may have withheld or applied to his own separate use.
24. Though we have not a doubt but that by the exertion of your abilities and the care and assiduity of our servants in the superintendency of the revenue the collections will be conducted with more advantage to the Company and ease to the natives than by the means of a Naib Duan, we are fully sensible of the expediency of supporting some ostensible minister in the Company's interest at the Nabob's Court to transact the political affairs of the Circar and interpose between the Company and the subjects of any European Power in all cases where they may thwart our interest or encroach on our authority. And as Mahomed Reza Cawn can no longer be considered by us as one to whom such a power can safely be committed, we trust to your local knowledge the selection of some person well qualified for the affairs of Government and of whose attachment to the Company you shall be well assured. Such person you will recommend to the Nabob to succeed Mahomed Reza as Minister of the Government and Guardian of the Nabob's minority; and we persuade ourselves that the Nabob will pay such regard to your recommendation as to invest him with the necessary power and authority.
25. As the advantages which the Company may receive from the appointment of such Minister will depend on his readiness to



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promote our views and advance our interest, we are willing to allow him so liberal a gratification as may excite his zeal and ensure his attachment to the company. We therefore empower you to grant to the person whom you shall think worthy of this trust an annual allowance not exceeding three laaks of rupees, which we consider not only as a munificent reward for any services he shall render the Company but sufficient to enable him to support his station with suitable rank and dignity. And here we must add that in the choice you shall make of a person to be the active Minister of the Nabob's government, we hope and trust that you will show yourselves worthy of the confidence that we have placed in you, by being actuated therein by no other motives than those of the public good and the safety and interest of the Company.

26. As the disbursement of the sums allotted to the Nabob for the maintenance of his household and family and the support of his dignity will pass through the hands of the Minister who shall be selected by you, conformable to our preceding orders, we expect that you will require such Minister to deliver annually to your Board a regular and exact account of the application of the several sums paid by the Company to the Nabob. This you will strictly examine and we trust that you will not suffer any part of the Nabob's stipend to be appropriated to the Minister's own use, or wasted among the unnecessary dependents of the Court, but that the whole amount be applied to the purposes for which it was assigned by us.

Between the years 1814 and 1876 there were seven Bishops of Calcutta, one of whom (Bishop Wilson) occupied the see for twenty-six years. From 1814 to 1871 there were only four Archdeacons. Of the first Archdeacon very little is known, there being practically no records of his work extant in the Archdeacon's Office. A somewhat meagre monument is to be found in the chancel of St. John's Church : it records :—

HENRY LLOYD LORING,
First Archdeacon of Calcutta,
died 4th September 1822.
Aged 38 years.

An humble, pure and heavenly-minded heart,
Beloved in life and lamented in death ;
This amiable Christian
has left an impression on the hearts of those
who knew him, which no time can efface.

It is written in the deepest lines on theirs,
 who in deference to the humility of his character,
 yet, anxious to record his virtues, have placed
 this simple tablet.

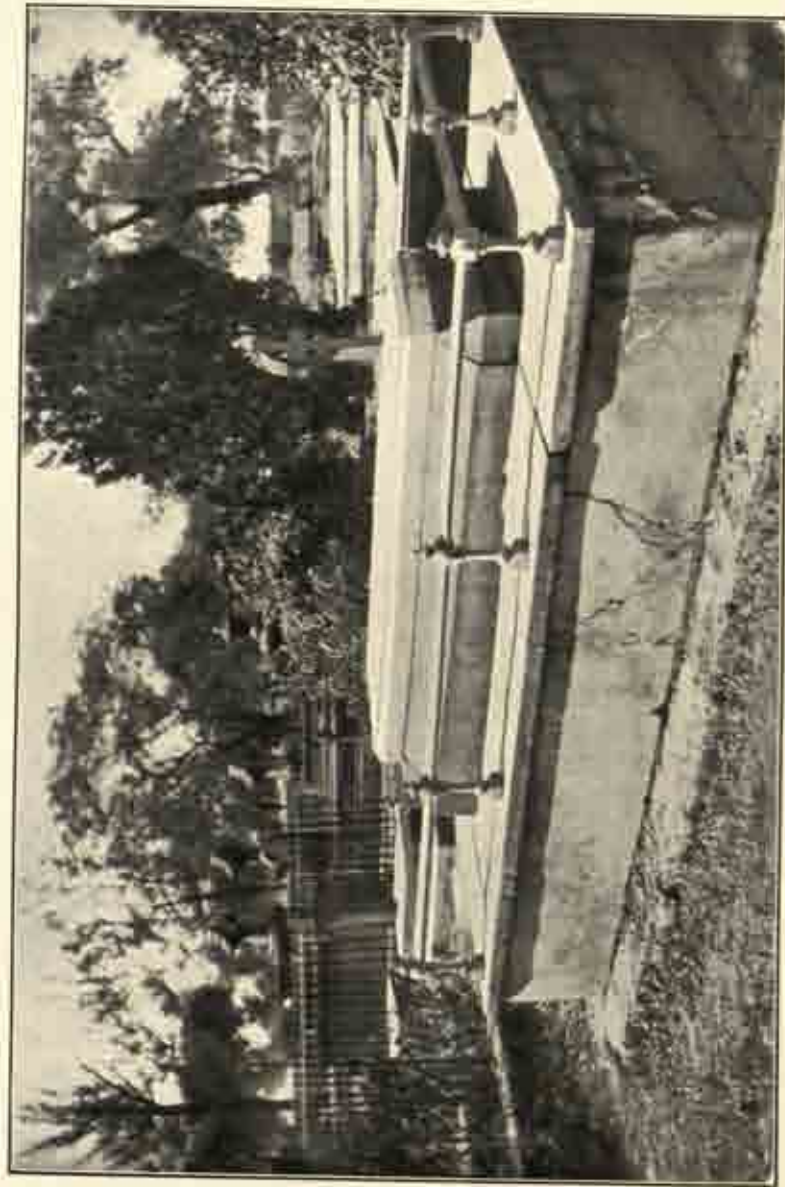
Archdeacon Loring was interred in the South Park Street Burial Ground on the 4th September, 1822: but the official register does not show the site of the grave. The next two Archdeacons were men of some renown, both of them becoming Bishops of Madras. Daniel Corrie was appointed Archdeacon in 1823, was consecrated Bishop of Madras in 1835, and died February 5th 1837, aged 59. Thomas Dealtry succeeded to the Archdeaconry in 1835, when Corrie went home to be consecrated Bishop. Dealtry was consecrated for Madras in 1849, succeeding to Bishop George John Trevor Spencer, who resigned in that year and died in 1866. John Henry Pratt became Archdeacon of Calcutta in 1849, and died at Ghazipur on December 28th 1871, having served in the Bengal Ecclesiastical Establishment for thirty-three years, and held the Archdeaconry for twenty-two.

Col. D. G. Crawford writes to me:—

The following epitaph may be seen in the old burial ground of Brighton around St. Nicholas Church. The tombstone stands on the north side of the Church. Most of the other tombs in the churchyard are of much older date.

"Sacred / to the Memory of / SAKE DEEN MAHOMED, / of Patna,
 Hindoostan, / who died on the 24th of February 1851, / aged 101
 years. / And of Jane his wife / who died / on the 26th of December
 1850 / aged 70 years."

On page 25 of the present volume, Mr. Sandys writes: "On January 15, 1893, the Rev. A. Clifford was consecrated Bishop of Lucknow in St. Paul's Cathedral Calcutta, being the first Bishop to be actually consecrated in India." Mr. Sandys, of course, means the first Anglican Bishop, but he has overlooked the interesting fact that the first Anglican Bishop consecrated in India was Dr. Macdougall, whom many of us can remember in his later years as a Canon of Winchester Cathedral. Macdougall was consecrated to the See of Lahore at St. Paul's Cathedral Calcutta in 1855 by Bishop Wilson, assisted by Bishop Dealtry of Madras and Bishop Smith



GRAVE OF ARCHDEACON PRATT AT GHAZIPUR.
(Photo by Walter K. Firminger.)

of Victoria. He is the "brave Macdougall" of Kingsley's poem from which the following lines are so often quoted:

"Do the work that's nearest
Though it be dull at times,
Helping when you see them
Lame dogs are stiles."

Within the gateway of the Metropolitan's Palace in Chowringhi there is a massive Chinese bell. It would be interesting to discover its history. The following is a translation of the inscription on the bell. The "fourth year of Chand Lung" is said to be 1720 A. D.

BELL AT LIMBO AND PLACED IN THE SAINTS' CHURCH.

With joy and gladness we place this bell in the Church, so that the sound of its pealing may not only be heard close by but afar.

The Saints have their dwelling place everywhere.

If you believe, you will follow God's way and will find easy access to Him.

On hearing the sound of the bell, you will be brought to a recollection of your sins.

Even the dead on hearing the sound of the bell will ascend to heaven.

We on this earth are burning in fire, on hearing the sound of this bell, will escape out of its heat to a cooler place.

Those who believe in God shall all become saints.

Chan Lung [Viceroy of] Thai-chin in his 4th year, on a lucky day in November, made this bell.

Quong-Si [Viceroy of] Thai-Chin in his 17th year made this inscription.

The Bishop's Palace was once the property of the Hon'ble Mr. Wilberforce Bird. It was purchased in 1849 by Bishop Daniel Wilson for Rs. 55,000 and the same Prelate spent Rs. 24,000 on improvements to the building.

WALTER K. FIRMINER.

The Calcutta Printed Indian Postage Stamps of 1854-55.

THE announcement made of the gift by the Government of India to the Royal Philatelic Society of nine lithographic stones and four engraved copper plates used in the production of the earliest Indian postage stamps and essays in Calcutta in the mid fifties is not only of philatelic interest, but also of general moment. His Excellency the Viceroy has offered them to the Society as relics of "considerable historic interest," and, needless to say, his offer has been accepted with gratitude. The present writer had more than once availed himself of the opportunity at the Survey Office in Calcutta of handling these valuable reminders of a long-ago period of postal activity, and when resident in that city, more than once unsuccessfully urged their being placed in the Victoria Memorial Hall collection as worthy of permanent deposit there. Since his return from India he has again called public attention to them at the Margate Congress and elsewhere, and now India's loss has resulted in London's gain.

In commenting on the gift the *London Philatelist* dwells upon the suitability of the Royal Philatelic Society to be the recipient of this "rich and valuable donation," which will form a fitting appanage to the plates already reposing in Southampton Row of early Mauritius, Prince Edward's Island, South Australia, and other dominions. The monumental work, "The Postage and Telegraph Stamps of British India," was published under the auspices of the Philatelic Society of India, and two of its authors (Sir C. Stewart-Wilson and Mr. L. L. R. Hansbury), together with that Society's then Honorary Secretary (the present writer), are all now members of the Council of the Royal Philatelic Society.

The earliest Indian postage stamps known as the "Scinde-Daks" were locally issued for Scinde by Sir Bartle Frere in 1852, but their use had been discontinued prior to the appearance of the issues for the whole of India of 1854-55. The quaint little red, white and blue trio, bearing the Company's modified broad arrow badge (well-known to Clive) used from the time of Charles II, had run its course by 30th September 1854, after which the unused stock was destroyed, and the Pan-Indian stamps appeared.

A postal system of a kind had already been established by Clive (1766) and improved upon by Warren Hastings (1774), and in 1837 an elaboration of it was established which held its ground with more or less success until the stamps made from the stones and plates now given by the Viceroy to London appeared.

At first the Court of Directors was disposed to rely permanently upon Indian made stamps and, in 1853 Colonel Forbes of the Calcutta Mint produced a design for a stamp showing the conventional "Lion and Palm-tree" as borne on the gold mohur coin of 1847 from a die of Wyon's engraving, and it is not without interest to note in passing that this same design is the subject of the obverse of the medal of the Philatelic Society of India formed in 1897. "The Postage and Telegraph Stamps of India," (to which this writer is much indebted for material for this article) tells the story in detail of the delays resulting from the experiments and enquiries on the part of the Mint authorities, until ultimately, at the end of 1854, Captain H. L. Thuillier, Deputy Surveyor-General in charge of departmental lithography at the Survey Office, relieving the Mint, successfully undertook the manufacture of the first stamps of India which now rank with many other much-sought-after issues of the early days of Philately. There is no occasion to describe the Thuillier-Numerodeen stamps here. All are well known to both philatelists and the general public. Considering the circumstances of their origin, (ink, chemicals, paper and other necessities of manufacture all proved unaccommodating) and the time pressure under which they were created, they are among the miracles of their kind, reflecting the greatest credit upon the skill of Baboo Numerodeen, the artist chiefly responsible for the execution of the work and upon the patience and energy of all concerned. Numerodeen is one of the natives of India whose fame has long survived him. Captain Thuillier died as General Sir Henry Edward Landor Thuillier, C. S. I., in June 1906 at the age of ninety-two.

A two anna stamp (turned out by the Calcutta Mint) appeared in 1854.

Various circumstances transpiring, it was not deemed advisable to rely upon India as the source of supply for the growing colossal requirements of the Indian postal system, and in November 1855 the first Indian stamps made in England by Messrs De La Rue & Co., reached Calcutta and were brought into use. Now as then, the firm of De La Rue & Co., are still the makers of India's stamps. There is a story that very grave apprehension prevailed in India that the first De La Rue consignment would not arrive in time to obviate a stamp-famine. The local stamps were rapidly being absorbed, and it is believed by some that the Mint had made the necessary preliminary arrangements for a "Lion and Palm-tree" provisional issue in the event of the non-arrival of the earliest steel engraved stamps from home. The consignment, however, arrived in time.

The following is a list of the Survey Office issues between May 1854 and August 1855:—

½ anna, blue	...	...	...	36,694,080
1 anna, red	...	...	...	9,378,432
4 annas, red and blue—				
Stamps 18 mm apart	...	...	7,38,960	
" 6 mm apart	...	...	2,85,864	
" 2½ mm apart	...	...	6,35,160	
				<hr/> 1,659,984
Total	...	...	47,732,496	

The figures of issue of the Mint-made 2 annas green are not available, but it is believed that not more than a million were printed.

Retouches in the designs abound, and marginal devices vary. Reminders were called in and destroyed early in 1858.

The stones, etc., presented to the Royal Philatelic Society include those used in the production of essays as well as of actual stamps.

The making of the Thuillier-Numerodeen Indian stamps of 1854-55 in Calcutta is one of the things upon which the city has the right to pride herself. After the Scinde Daks they were the first postage stamps to appear not only in India but in Asia. The rightful permanent resting place for the stones, etc., from which they were made, was the Victoria Memorial Hall on the Maidan; but failing the Hall, the present writer, as curator of the Royal Philatelic Society's collection, is with others anticipating their arrival in London with no small degree of satisfaction. They rank with the best of the relics of early Philately still extant, and, having played a conspicuous part upon the stage of public affairs in the historical days when British India was scarcely the consolidation now known to us, the record of their departure from Calcutta for perpetual preservation in London may not be deemed unworthy of the pages of *Bengal: Past & Present*.

WILMOT CORFIELD.

The Old Dutch Church at Chinsurah.

THOUGH the Dutch Church at Chinsurah is the oldest building in Bengal used for the worship of the Anglican Church, the history of that body in Bengal starts at the neighbouring town of Hughli, where a factory of the East India Company was established in 1660. To this Station the first Anglican chaplain in Bengal—the Rev. John Evans—was posted in 1678, as chaplain of the Bay; he served at Hughli until the factory was temporarily abandoned in 1684. Evans' life is fully treated by Archdeacon Hyde in his *Parochial Annals of Bengal*. The Author of the *Hughli District Gazetteer* (1909) says that a chapel existed here in 1679 and gives Hyde as his authority. As a matter of fact Hyde gives an account of the chapel and services at Surat in 1633, and suggests that this represents the ideal at which Evans was aiming. It is probable, however, that a room in the factory was at first used for divine service, and this idea is supported by a book published at Delhi about 1680 *Tarikh-i-Khaji Khan* (quoted by Col. Crawford I.M.S. on this point in his *Brief History of the Hughli District* 1903) which says "In the churches of the English who are also Christians, there are no figures set up as idols. The writer of these pages has frequently visited these places and has conversed with their learned men, and records what he has seen." This passage follows immediately on a description of the Portuguese at Hughli, and the Bandel Priory, and may refer to an English chapel. Evans returned home in 1689 and was made Bishop of Bangor and later of Meath. He had amassed a large fortune in India which enabled him to become a founder and benefactor of the S.P.G. and S.P.C.K.

The New East India Company occupied Hughli from 1699-1704 and a chaplain was stationed here for a time until it was finally abandoned after the union of the two Companies in Bengal.

Chinsurah the chief Bengal factory of the Dutch East India Company was founded about 1636. The place where the first Dutch services were held is not mentioned, nor is there any record of any Dutch pastor being here. The station applied to Negapatam for a pastor in 1742, but there was not one available. Chaplains were regularly appointed for their south Indian stations by the Dutch, but at Chinsurah services were regularly conducted by an official known as the "Zeckentrooster" or

"Consoler of the Sick," who read public prayers, visited the sick, and buried the dead. Baptisms and Marriages are said by Joseph (*Calcutta Review*) to have been performed by the English Clergy, from Calcutta.

The Church at Chinsurah is a building of three distinct ages. The earliest part is the tower at the south end which was built by J. A. Schiterman in 1742 (not as Wilson, *Bengal Inscriptions* 1896, says, 1747). Schiterman, who was Director or Governor of Chinsurah is the traditional builder of the Commissioner's house formerly occupied by the Directors. A slab was found at the base of the Church tower in 1907, which has the inscription.

"Gebow Wdoor. J. A. Schiterman
Road Extrordinar Van Nederlands
India en Director De Ser Bengalase
Directie & Anno 1742."

This tower was 72 feet high and had a steeple, a chiming clock and bell in it. The steeple and the upper part of the tower fell in the cyclone of October 5th 1864.

A tower is drawn in the lower left hand corner of Fr. J. Tiefentaller's picture of Chinsurah in 1765. This, from its position, seems to be the church tower, and shows it before the church was added. The tower and the church (without the outer aisle) are shown in Hodges' print of the "Dutch Station at Chinsurah 1806" see *Bengal : Past & Present* Vol. V).

The second part of the building is the nave of the church which is an octagonal structure thirty-eight feet high, fifty-eight feet long and thirty feet eight inches wide. The walls of this part of the church and the tower are 2 ft. 8 inches thick. The building was added to the tower in 1767 by Sir George Vernet.

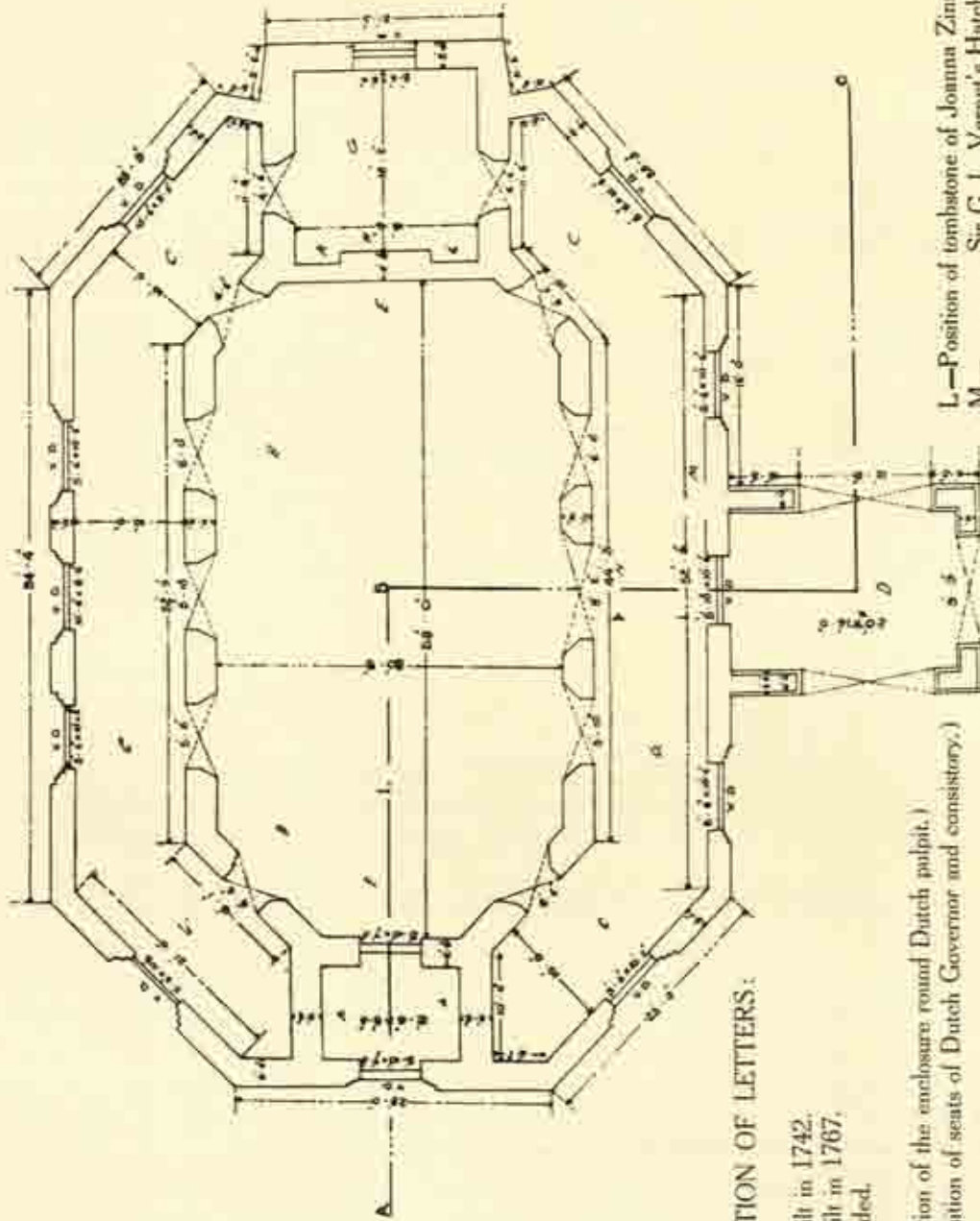
Wilson gives a few particulars of Vernet's career. He was born in Gravenhage in 1711 and was in his youth a Court page of Louis XV. Coming to India before 1750 he was second of council at Kalkapur in 1756, where he assisted the English fugitives from Kassimbarat and became a friend of Hastings and Watts. He was Director of Bengal 1765-70 and died at Batavia in 1775. A hatchment to his memory exists in Chinsurah church, and a tombstone in the Cemetery (Wilson No. 457) to the memory of Mrs. H. A. Borwater who died in 1793 records that she was "the relict of Hon'ble George. Louis Vernet Ci-divant Director of the Dutch E. I. Company in Bengal."

The date of building the church is recorded on a medallion over the original east door which reads "Ad maiorem Dei gloriam edificare jussit G. Vernet A.D. 1767" (Wilson No. 424).

The original internal fittings of the church were similar to those of other Dutch churches in India. These have survived with a little modification at



PLAN



EXPLANATION OF LETTERS:

- A—Tower, built in 1742.
- BB—Nave, built in 1767.
- CC—Aisle added.
- D—Porch.
- E—Altar (position of the enclosure round Dutch pulpit.)
- F—Organ (position of seats of Dutch Governor and consistory.)
- G—Vestry.
- H—Position of slab recording Schittermann's tower.
- K— " " tombstone of Petrus Zinner.

- L—Position of tombstone of Joanna Zinner.
- M— " " Sir G. L. Vernet's Hatchment.
- N— " " medallion recording the building of the Church.
- O—Fort.

PLAN OF DUTCH CHURCH AT CHINSURAH.

Negapatam to the present day. At Chinsurah, at the present altar-end a railed-in space was raised above the floor of the church on three steps and entrance to it was made by means of a door from the back, the pulpit was here. At the opposite end, under the tower was another raised space also railed in, in which were the seats of the "consistory" (or "vestry") of the church, and the official seat of the Director of the Settlement. After 1824 the church was adapted for Anglican services, the altar being put inside the rails at the North end, the pulpit and reading desk outside them. The opposite space was used by the military authorities to accommodate the band of the Depot, until the troops from the station were removed. In 1870, the P.W.D. took over the church, and about 1880 the platforms and the seats in the aisle were removed, the door to the vestry was blocked up, and the present arrangements made to suit the necessities of the diminished European population.

The first minister of the church was the famous Rev. J. Z. Kiermader who settled at Chinsurah in 1789 and was appointed Chaplain on Rs. 25 a month. He ceased to be chaplain on the English occupation in 1795. Chinsurah was occupied by the English from 1795 to 18th September 1817, when it was given back to the Dutch; during this time the London Missionary Society worked in the station and the church was used by the Rev. Nathaniel Forsyth from 1798-1816. Forsyth's work is recorded on his tombstone in Chinsurah Cemetery (Wilson No. 470) in terms, which while paying a high tribute to his work, "as the first zealous and Protestant Minister of Chinsurah" are scarcely kind to his more famous predecessor. The S. P. G. began mission work at Chinsurah in 1823, just previous to its final surrender by the Dutch and continued until 1837. The Dutch finally handed over the settlement on 17th March 1824, in exchange for Sumatra. On the surrender of the town, the church, the cemetery and Mrs. Yeates' tomb were handed over to the Bishop of Calcutta. The Military Department took over the Dutch Barracks and added considerably to them establishing a depôt for invalids, and newly arrived drafts. About this time 1825-1835 the outer aisle of the church was built. It is octagonal in shape and surrounds the original church except for the tower. The aisle is 10 ft. wide and 27 ft. high, the walls are 2 ft. thick. The porch was also added at the same time. The fact that this aisle is a later addition is not stated in print, but there is a local tradition that it was so; also Hodges' print, already mentioned, shows the church without the external aisle, and the types of building of the two aisles are quite distinct. The addition of the aisle increased the seating capacity, and Archdeacon Pratt gives it as 670 in 1847 which must have taxed the accommodation of the church to the full. Government stationed a chaplain at Chinsurah from 1826 to 1875 when the place became an out-station of Barrackpur until 1906, and after that of Howrah.

The internal fittings of the church are of some interest, the most important of them being the series of fourteen hatchments which are fixed to the walls of the church. As ten of them are older than the church, this is certainly not their original position, but it is probable that they were in the fort. The inscriptions are given in full with the heraldic description of the arms by Wilson, (*Bengal Inscriptions*, Nos. 413-423 and 425-427.) The other fittings of the church are not of the same interest. The font is a black serpentine block which according to tradition was brought from England and given to the church in the early days of the English occupation. In the garden are two old guns forming the bases of the lamp-standards, which tradition declares to date from the times of the Dutch. The chalice and paten date from 1870 or 1871. The altar, cross, candlesticks and pannels at the east end are not old. There is a pair of old Sheffield candlesticks on the harmonium.

In the vestry besides the slab recording the building of the tower already referred to, two other memorial stones have been fixed on the wall for preservation. The latter were originally in the Dutch cemetery and were placed here about 1885. The inscriptions are not in Wilson and read:—

1. PETRUS Andres Zinner. Gebooren Den 2 (9) April 1769 Overladen
I (7) X Led 1769 Zoon Van dan Capit Militar Jan Handrik Zinner.
Soo ghy nubent was ick voor dese
Soo ick nubent sult ghy ook noc weise

The slab is decorated with two skeletons and an hour glass.

2. ARNOLDA JONANNA. Dochter Van Den Capitain Militar Van
Handrik Zinner. Gebooren Dan 11 Feb. A. D. 1765. Over laden
den 12 Feb. A. D. 1767 and jaren 10 linren.

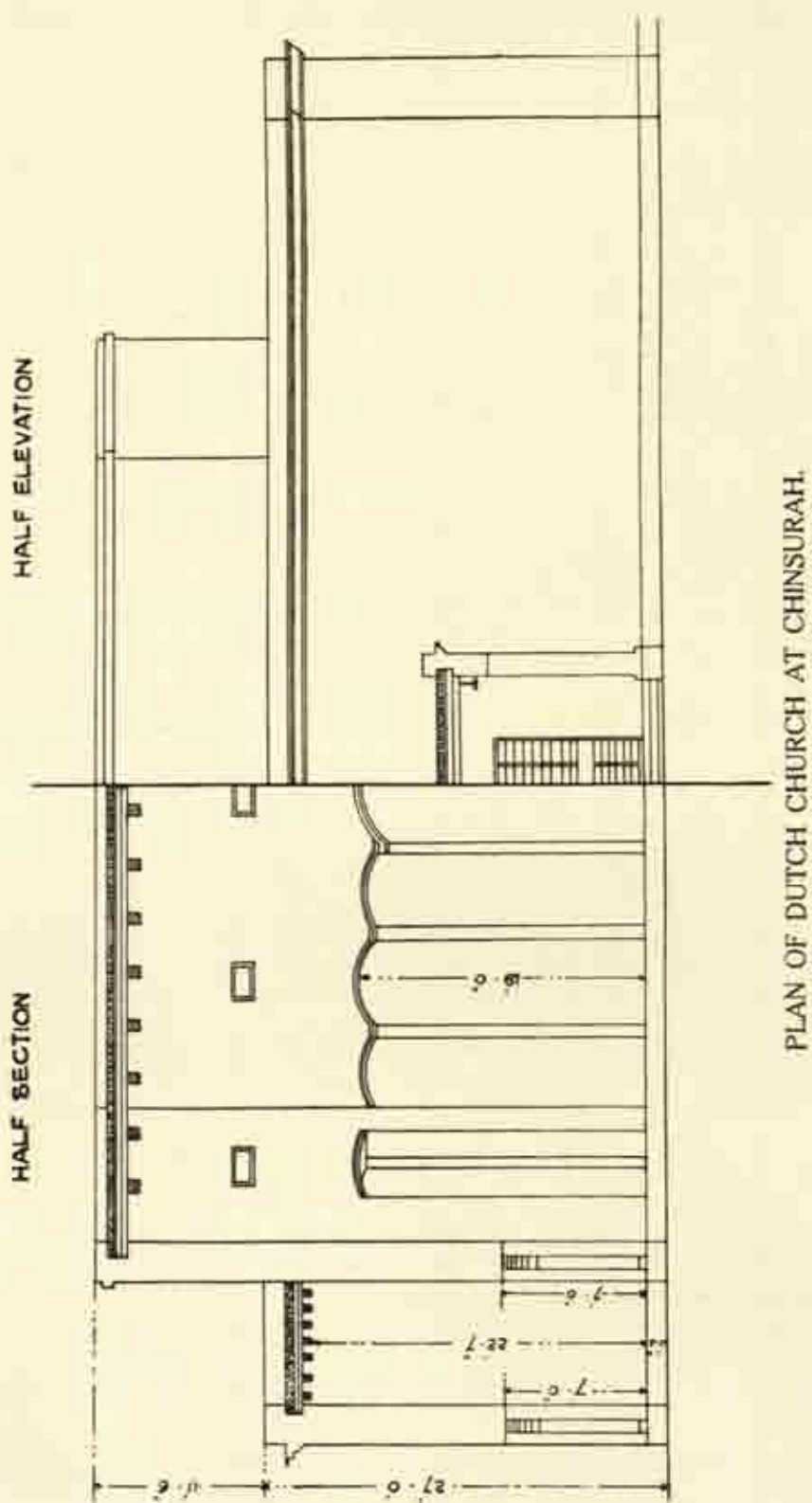
Wilson (No. 449) gives the inscription to a third child of the same family who died Oct. 7-16 1768 seven months and eighteen days.

The Chinsurah cemetery contains a large number of graves, dating from the Dutch and English occupation. Wilson (Nos. 439-482) gives inscriptions of some at length, though others escaped his researches.

Near the 4th furlong post of the 25th mile of the Grand Trunk Road is the tomb of Mrs. Susanna Yeates. This tomb is not in Wilson, but described by Col. Crawford (*Bengal: Past & Present* Vol. III) as follows:—

"The Tomb is a fine old mausoleum some thirty feet high. An arched chamber some fifteen feet high stands on a small slate plinth six feet high and above it rises a dome with a small pinnacle on its summit. Round the dome, in letters nearly a foot high, is inscribed the name of the occupant of the tomb 'Susanna Anna Maria Yeates' who died 12th May 1809. In the large chamber is a slab with an epitaph in Dutch."

"Ter Gedagtemis Van Susanna Anna Maria Yeates Geboore Verkerk
Obit Den 12th May Anno 1809.



Ik lag in het graft zonder geklag
 Enrust dar tot den jongsten dag
 Dan zult gy Heer? myn graft out dekken
 En myter Eeuwige Vrengd verstrekken."

This may be translated as follows :—

To the memory of Susanna Anna Maria Yeates, neé Verkerk. Died the
 12th May 1909.

"I lie in the grave without complaint,
 In rest until the judgment Day
 Then shall you, Lord, open my grave
 And take me away to eternal Joy"

Mrs. Yeates in her will left Rs. 4000 the interest of which after the repairs of the tomb had been met, was to be given to the poor, this forms the Chinsurah Poor Fund administered by the Collector which gives small pensions to various poor Christians at the present day. She also left sixty bighas of land to the station as a burial ground. This was handed over to the Bishop of Calcutta in 1825. The fact that the church owned this land was lost sight of, and some of it was lost. Under a recent order of the High Court the interest can be applied for an educational purpose.

The information in these notes besides the authorities mentioned below is largely derived from the recollections of Miss Baboneau, for many years a resident in Chinsurah to whose help the author is much indebted. The printed authorities quoted are as follows :—

Archdeacon Hyde, *Parochial Annals of Bengal*; Col. D. G. Crawford, *History of Hughli District* 1903, *Hughli District Gazetteer* 1909. J. C. Marshman's *Notes on the Right Bank of the Hughli*. "Calcutta Review" Vol. IV July, Decr. 1845. *Bengal Past and Present* Vol. III P. 198-199; Vol. V. Page 231; Vol. X; Wilson's *Bengal Monuments and Inscriptions* 1896, page 122-124 and the Records of the Church. For comparison with the Dutch churches of South India reference to Rev. F. Penny's *The Church in Madras* is useful.

H. F. FULFORD WILLIAMS.


APPENDIX.

The annexed list is Wilson's description of the Chinsurah hatchments.

THE ENGLISH CHURCH, CHINSURA.

Formerly The Dutch Church.

Built By Sir G. Vernet in 1767. Steeple Built by Schilerman in 1744.

- 413 13 Aug. W. A. Obijt. W. A. den 13 Augustus. This description and the fourteen
1662 1662. inscriptions which follow, except No. 424, are on lozenge-shaped hatchments hung high up near the roof of the church.
- Crest: a moor's head couped sable filleted or. Arms: two fleurs-de-lys gules.
(This is really 1668).
- 414 19 June Rogier Van Obijt r. v. h. den 9 Juni anno
1665 Heyningen 1665. Crest: a lion decouped gules.
Arms: or, in chief a lion decouped gules, in base three pellets.
- 415 26 Oct. Francois De Obijt de Hasevelter den 26
1676 Hase October anno 1676. Below this are two names, each over a coat of arms. Van Wilschoten Van Essen. Only one coat decipherable, viz. crest a demi hare courant; arms: gules two stars or in chief a bare courant.
- 416 19 May Nicholas N. B. Obijt 19 Mei Jo. 1683.
1683 Bankes Crest: a horse's head erased argent. Arms: party per pale argent and sable, dexter a demi eagle displayed sable; sinister, what seems to be a trade mark, thus  A.
- N.B.
(Governor 1684).
- 417 5 Jan. Marten M. H. Obijt 5 Juni Ano. 1685.
1685 Huyman
- 418 12 Jan. Pieter Van P. V. D. Obijt 12 Janu. Jo. 1701.
1701 Disboek Crest: three torches argent flamed gules. Arms: party per fess gules and sable. Not very clear.
- 419 25 Nov. R. B. R. B. Obijt 28 Novr. a. 1733.
1733 Crest, a bear sejant sable. Arms gules two boucs sejant sable. Knight's helmet.
- 420 27 Mar. Theodora THEODORA HENDRICA
1770 Hendrica PIEKENBROEK, in Huijs-
Faure. vrouwe Van D. Agthr.
Heer Boudewijn Versleuei
Faure oud eerste secretaris van
D. Hooge Regering en Direc-
teur van Bengalen, geboren tot
Batavia 21 Julij anno 1746 obijt
tot Bengalen den 27 Maart a
1770 oud 23 Jaaren 5 Maan en
6 daagen.
- 421 6 May. Boudewijn BOUDEWIJN VERSELEWEL
1770 Versle- FAURE in leeven oud eerste
wel Faure. secretaris van de Hooge
Regiering en Directeur van
Bengalen Geboren tot Dender-
monde den 25 Jan 1734 obijt tot
Bengalen 6 Mei a 1770 oud 36
jaaren 3 Maan en 14 daagen.
- Crest: two wings argent and gules. Arms: party per fess or, and chequy of argent and gules, in chief a bull's head couped sable.

- 422 15 Dec. Theodora T. A. BODLE ob. 15 Dec. 1774 No crest. Arms: quarterly, 1st and 4th an angel displayed proper, 2nd and 3rd azure, 3 fleurs-de-lis or, coronet of a Marquis, supporters, 2 griffins, party per pale azure and argent.
- 1774 Antoinette, Mevrouw Bodle.
- 423 13 Dec. Sir George Den Weledelen Archthbaaren Heer GEORGE LOUIS VERNET is leeven Directeur van Bengalen, geboren tot's Gravenhage Di, 11 Januarij ano. 1711 obijt tot Batavia den 13 December 1775 oud 64 jaar. No crest. Arms: gules a bend sinister argent, in dexter chief a star argent. Vernet was related to the famous painter of that name. He was in his youth one of the pages to Louis XV. He came to India some years before 1750, and was in that year, if not earlier, in Bengal. In the year 1756 Vernet, who was then second of the Dutch Factory at Calcutta, showed much kindness to the English at Cossimbazar. In the year 1758, Vernet was Chief at Calcutta. (Governor 1764-70)
- 1775 Louis Vernet.
- 424 Do Dito Ad maiorem Dei gloriam edificare jussit G. VERNET A.D. 1767. This inscription is on a convex oval medallion over the east entrance door.
- 425 31 Jan. Tammerus TAMMERUS CANTER VISS- 1778 Cher in leeven Opper Koopman secunde der Bengalische Directie en opper hooft te Cassimbassa Geb. te Pen[jum] in Vriesland den 11 Augustus ann. 1729 ob. te Cassimbassa den 31 Januarij anno 1778 oud 48 Jaaren 5 maanden en 20 daagen. Arms: quarterly, 1st and 4th argent, two muskets crossed in saltire over a sword in pale, all proper; 2nd sable, 3 mullets in less or; 3rd gules, 3 scollops argent. The crest has peeled off, and so have the letters within brackets.
- 1778 Cantier Visscher.
- 426 23 Aug. Pieter PIETER BRUEYS van's Hoge 1793 Opper Koopman en Hooft Administrateur Overleeden te Chinsurah, den 23 Augustus Anno 1793 in des Ouderdom van 52 Jaaren 9 maanden 17 dagen. Crest: a flower gules Arms: party per pale vert and argent, dexter a column argent crowned or, sinister a flower gules.
- 1793 Brueys.
- 427 25 Sep. John Isinck Jno. ISINCK geb. 9 Julij 1709 te 17 Groningen. Gestorven 25 Sept. 17. No coat of arms.

One Hundred and Forty-Five Years at the Old or Mission Church, Calcutta—III.

APPENDIX I.

MINISTERS OF THE OLD OR MISSION CHURCH.

THE Old or Mission Church was founded in May 1767 and dedicated for Divine Worship on the 4th Sunday in Advent, December 1770.

I. UNDER THE S. P. C. K.

1770-1787, REV. JOHN ZACHARIAH KIERNANDER, Missionary, S. P. C. K., Founder of the Church. He was assisted by Padre Bento de Souza (1770-1786); Padre Marcellino Joseph Ramalhete (1772-1783) and by REV. JOHN CHRISTMAN DIERER, S. P. C. K. Missionary 1775-1783.

The Church was purchased by Mr. Charles Grant, and Trustees appointed, in October 1787.

1787-1789. REV. DAVID BROWN, M.A., Chaplain to the Hon'ble East India Company, undertook the Ministry of the Old Church voluntarily when there was no Missionary attached to it. He was assisted by some of the chaplains from time to time, e.g., by Rev. Messrs. Blanshard and Owen.

1789-1790. REV. A. T. CLARKE, Missionary, S. P. C. K., left within a year.

1790-1797. REV. DAVID BROWN again took charge assisted by Rev. John Owen, and from 1797 by DR. CLAUDIUS BUCHANAN.

1797. REV. W. T. RINGELTAUBE, Missionary, S. P. C. K., left within a few months of his arrival.

Again the Rev. David Brown came to the rescue, and carried on the Old Church till 1806 with the help of Dr. Buchanan. The Rev. Henry Martyn's first visit was in 1806 for five months.

The S. P. C. K. having failed to supply suitable men for the Church, Mr. Grant prevailed on the E. I. Company to send a chaplain to take charge. Lord Moira sanctioned a 2nd chaplain.

II. UNDER GOVERNMENT CHAPLAINS.

SENIOR CHAPLAINS.

JUNIOR CHAPLAINS.

1806. REV. T. T. THOMASON M.A., (assisted by Rev. D. Brown till his death in 1812.
1812. Rev. Daniel Corrie took charge during Thomason's illness.

SENIOR.

JUNIOR.

1813. Rev. T. T. THOMASON, M.A.

Rev. T. Robertson.
Rev. G. W. Crauford

1824. Rev. G. W. CRAUFORD M.A., on Thomason's appointment to St. John's.

1827. Rev. F. GOODE on Crauford's going to Bareilly.

Rev. A. Hammond.

1828. Rev. T. T. THOMASON, M.A.

SENIOR.		JUNIOR.	
1839	REV. THOMAS DEALTRY, M.A.		
1831	"	Rev. R. B. Boyes, B.A.	
1835	" (now Archdeacon)		
1838	"	Rev. H. S. Fisher and Rev. F. W. Wythrow of C. M. S.	
1841	"	Rev. H. Moule, B.A., Mar.-July.	
1842	"	Rev. J. Vaughan.	
1843	"	Rev. J. C. Quartley.	
1844	"	Rev. H. Thomas.	
1848	REV. H. THOMAS, M.A.		
1850	"	Rev. J. Coley.	
1852	"	Rev. F. W. Vaux.	
1854	REV. H. HUTTON, M.A.	Rev. H. Smith.	

Negotiations were now begun with the C. M. S. to undertake the patronage.

1855	"	Rev. E. T. R. Moncrieff and Rev. T. Thomas.
1856	"	Rev. G. Lovely and Rev. M. D. C. Walters.
1857	REV. G. LOVELY, M.A.	Rev. M. D. C. Walters.
1859	Rev. M. D. C. Walters	Rev. E. C. Stuart, Secy. of C. M. S.

III. UNDER THE C. M. S.

INCUMBENT.		ASSISTANT.	
1859	Dec. 23, REV. E. C. STUART, B.A.		
1871	Dec. REV. J. WELLAND, B.A.	Rev. E. C. Stuart till Mar. 1872.	
1873		Rev. M. Goldsmith, M.A.	
1874	Dec.	Rev. A. Clifford, M.A.	
1876	REV. A. CLIFFORD, M.A.	Rev. D. L. Barry, M.A. Secy. C. M. S.	
1878	"	Rev. H. D. Williamson, M.A.	
1878	Nov.	Rev. H. P. Parker, M.A. Secy. C. M. S.	
1878	Dec. Rev. J. Welland, B.A.	Rev. H. P. Parker, M.A. Secy. C. M. S.	
1879	Rev. C. S. HARRINGTON, M.A.		
1885	Rev. C. S. Harrington	Rev. A. Clifford, M.A. Secy. C. M. S.	
1889	Mar. REV. A. H. BOWMAN, M.A.	"	
1890	Dec. Rev. H. GOULDSMITH, M.A.	Rev. F. Ireland Jones, M.A. Secy. C. M. S.	
1892	Sept.	Rev. H. D. Williamson, M.A. Secy. C. M. S.	
1893	Mar.	Rev. A. W. Crockett, M.A.	
1893	Dec.		
1896	Mar. REV. C. G. MYLREA, M.A.	Rev. W. H. Ball, Secy. C. M. S.	
1897	Feb. Rev. H. Gouldsmith, M.A.	Rev. C. L. Olsen.	
	Dec.		
1900	Feb. Rev. E. T. Sandys, M.A., took temporary charge.	Rev. E. T. Sandys, M.A. Secy. C. M. S.	
	Apl. Rev. A. H. Bowman, M.A.		
	Dec. Rev. S. H. CLARK, M.A.		
1902	Feb.	Rev. W. H. Ball, Secy. C. M. S.	
1906	Dec.	Rev. L. K. Morton and Rev. S. D. Hinds, M.A.	
1907	Nov. REV. C. G. CURISON, M.A.	Rev. T. Leaman.	
1908	Feb. REV. F. B. HADDOX, M.A.	Rev. A. H. Bowman, M.A.	
1910	Nov.	Rev. J. Senderson, B.A.	
1912	Feb.	Rev. W. J. Wright, B.A.	
1915	Apl.	Rev. C. Vethacan, M.A.	

APPENDIX II.

"LIVING STONES."

It would be obviously impossible to give more than a very few brief notes on some of the lay members of the Old Church Congregation, who have served God and their generation, and left some mark on the Parish by their faithful and consistent lives. The following list cannot be

regarded as by any means complete; but it affords some interesting light upon the work and influence of the Church.

CHARLES GRANT, of the H. E. I. C. S., came to India in 1767, was Commercial Resident at Malda in 1776 and member of the Board of Trade. In 1787 he bought the Old Church and formed the Old Church Trust. He left India in 1790 and became Chairman of the Court of Directors in London, and was doubtless responsible for the Despatch on Sunday Observance sent by the Directors in May 1798. He had two sons, Charles, afterwards Lord Glenelg, and Robert, Governor of Bombay. When in Calcutta, from 1774 to 1780, he died in Grant's Lane (called after him) in the first house on the right hand from Bentinck Street. Later, when he returned from Malda in 1787, he took Mr. Wheeler's house at Kidderpore. He died in England in October 1823, aged 78. No one laboured harder to raise the moral condition of India, its inhabitants and officials, or had a greater influence in the settlement of Indian affairs than he had.

WILLIAM CHAMBERS, of the H. E. I. C. S. was first in Madras, and was converted under Schwartz. He came to Calcutta in 1776 and married Grant's sister-in-law, Miss Charity Fraser. He became protonotary and interpreter in the Supreme Court of Bengal. His brother, Sir Robert, was one of the Judges who tried Nund Coomar, and afterwards was Chief Justice of Bengal. Being of an artistic and scientific turn of mind, William Chambers designed several structural improvements in the Church, of which the old circular Chancel still remains. He died in August 1793.

GEORGE UDNY, of the H. E. I. C. S., succeeded Grant as Commercial Resident at Malda, and member of the Board of Trade. He was high up in the service and a Member of Council from 1801 to 1807, and for a short time acted as Governor-General in the absence of Sir George Barlow. Upon him the mantle of Charles Grant descended. His house was in Chowringhee. He died in 1830, aged 70. His grandson, Sir Robert Udny, was Political Officer on the North-West Frontier, and Commissioner of Peshawar in 1895.

JOHN CHRISTIAN OBECK was catechist under Schwartz. He became steward in Grant's family; and when Grant went home, "the apostolic Obeck" was permitted to occupy the "house adjoining the Church," *i. e.*, No. 11, Mission Row. Obeck died in 1803, aged 75.

SIR JOHN SHORE, Lord Teignmouth, was Governor-General from 1793 to the spring of 1797. He frequently attended the Old Church and was a great friend of the Grants after his retirement. Lieut. White told Sir John that he had been 11 years in India without having had the opportunity of attending Divine service more than five times. This greatly stirred Sir John to help forward the cause of religion in India.

WILLIAM MYERS was one of the first Trustees of the Evangelical Fund in Dec. 1802. His daughter, Elizabeth, married the Rev. Daniel Corrie in 1812. His widow married Mr. Ellerton of Malda, and afterwards was invited by Bishop Wilson to live at the Bishop's Palace. She had a fund of rather remarkable stories of bygone days. She died in 1858, aged 86. Mr. Myers was buried in Park Street, and Mrs. Ellerton was interred in the same grave with her first husband. An infant daughter of Corrie's (Emily) is beside them.

RICHARD BURNEY, School Master at Kidderpore Orphanage for 18 years, was also one of the first three Trustees of the Evangelical Fund. He died in 1808, aged 39. He was half brother to Fanny Burney, afterwards Madame D'Arblay, authoress of *Evelina*.

JOHN WOOD, also one of the first Trustees of the Evangelical Fund, died in 1819.

J. W. SHERER, of the H. E. I. C. S., married the sister of the Rev. Daniel Corrie. He was a Trustee of the Church from 1815 to 1826. His son, John Walter, was Magistrate of Futehpur and Cawnpur during the Mutiny, of which he wrote an account.

G. S. HUTTEMAN was appointed an Evangelical Fund Trustee on the death of Mr. Burney. He was Trustee for 35 years, till his death in 1843, at the age of 74.

JAMES URQUHART SHERIFF was Trustee of the Evangelical Fund. He died in 1833.

FREDERICK LINDSTEDT was proprietor of the Calcutta Academy. He died in 1833. Mrs. Francis Lindstedt, widow of Charles William Lindstedt, was long a member of the Old Church. She died in 1821, aged 81.

HENRY DAVENPORT SHAKESPEAR, a member of the Council of India. He died in 1838 after 35 years' service. He was a colleague of Lord Macaulay. The family was connected with that of the Thackerays.

GEORGE BALLARD, merchant, was a Trustee of the Church in the twenties. His son was Lieut.-General J. A. Ballard, Master of the Mint, Bombay.

JAMES MURRAY was a Trustee of the Evangelical Fund in 1826.

WILLIAM WALLIS was for 43 years a member of the Church. He died in 1851.

COLONEL HUTCHINSON, R.E., married one of Thomson's daughters. He was Superintendent of Cossipore Gun Foundry.

CHARLES BRIETZKE, Senior Judge of the Small Cause Court, was for 25 years a regular worshipper of the Old Church; he died in England in 1855.

J. PALMER was a Trustee of the Church in the forties. He was son of John Palmer, senior, the "Friend of the Poor," whose bust is in the Town Hall and who lived in the house where the Lalbazar Police Station formerly stood. For an illustration of this building, see *Bengal Past and Present* Vol. X.

The brothers KELSALL were active members of the Church, Thomas Seddon Kelsall being a Trustee in the forties and fifties. The big Church bell still in use was their gift.

The families of the MADGES and BYRNS were long associated with the Church. Mr. Wale Byrn was an active organiser of Bishop Wilson's Diocesan Church Building Fund, and a leading member of the East Indian Community. He died in 1855.

H. E. BRADDON and J. H. FERGUSSON were Trustees of the Fund in the fifties.

J. H. NORMAN a Trustee of the Church from 1853 to 1876.

DAVID WOODS was a Trustee of the Church in sixties.

K. C. PETERS was a Trustee of the Fund in the seventies.

ROBERT FITCHER was Scripture Reader over 30 years till 1877.

Sir A. RIVERS THOMPSON, Lieut.-Governor of Bengal, 1882-87, was a Trustee of the Church.

Sir CHARLES AITCHISON attended when in Calcutta. He was Foreign Secretary and afterwards Lieut.-Governor of the Punjab.

W. H. RYLAND was a very old member of the Church. He was a Trustee of the Church from 1882 till his retirement in 1897.

Colonels BACON, WILLIAMS, TOUCH, and General HAIG and Major COTTON were among the military men who attended in the seventies and eighties, all being Trustees of the Church or of the Fund.

J. B. BRADDON was a member of the Church when in Calcutta in the eighties, and is now a member of C. M. S. Committees at Home.

C. E. JORE was for very many years a member and "the poet" of the Old Church, writing many verses on public occasions.

The family of the STARKS have for a long time been connected with the Church. The Rev. A. STARK was in the C. M. S. Office, became a school-master in the Mission, was ordained, and was for many years the only ordained representative of the Eurasian Community engaged in Mission work. He died in 1903. Mr. HERBERT STARK was for several years Organist at the Old Church, and now is a well-known member of the Educational Service of Bengal Government.

The family of GRENON also took an active interest in the affairs of the Church, particularly in the Hebrew Mission.

J. C. ROBERTSON was for a time in Calcutta and was helpful in the business affairs of the Church.

The family of LAMB were also long connected with the Church.

Mr. G. CASSELLS and Mr. J. N. STUART were prominent members of the mercantile community who attended in the eighties and early nineties. The Lectern was Mr. Stuart's gift; he was a Trustee.

Mr. STEPHEN JACOB, Controller-General of Indian Treasuries, was a prominent member and Trustee of the Church. He died in 1898. His son while in Calcutta was the member of the choir.

His successors in office, Mr. W. DOBBIE and Mr. A. P. COX were both warm friends of the Mission Church, and Trustees. Mr. Cox gave a great deal of time and labour to the affairs of the Church. His son-in-law, Mr. F. G. Hawkins is a Trustee now.

Mr. E. HASKEW and Mr. H. S. CASHMAN were active workers in parochial matters for many years till their death in 1908 and 1910.

Mrs. STAPLETON worked for many years as Biblewoman in the Parish and did an excellent work.

In the early years of the new century, Major and Mrs. AYERST and Mr. and Mrs. RIVERS CURRIE were keen supporters of the various activities in which the Old Church is engaged, the Girls' Institute particularly owing a great debt of gratitude to Mrs. Currie for her personal interest in it.

Colonel and Mrs. MOSSE were also with us for a time. Mr. Justice PARGITER and Mr. Justice CASPERSZ have represented the High Court at the Old Church. Mr. Caspersz having been a Trustee from 1900 to 1910.

Mr. CHARLES BERNARD, I.C.S., and Mrs. BERNARD were members of the Old Church while in Calcutta, and until their sudden and tragic death from cholera at Chinnara in 1906. He was a Trustee of the Church.

Sir JOHN and Lady MOLESWORTH MACPHERSON during their annual visits to Calcutta in the cold weather took much interest in the work of the Old Church. She was a great granddaughter of the Rev. T. T. Thomson and grand daughter of Colonel Hutchinson.

MISS BETHUNE of Balgonie, while in charge of Kidderpore House, was a tower of strength in the Parish.

APPENDIX III.

THE OLD CHURCH REGISTERS.

The older Registers, from which many interesting items might have been gathered, are alas missing. Those that remain contain comparatively few names of historical interest.

The Baptismal Registers date from 1828 only.

Among those baptised at the Old Church were:—

Emily, daughter of Sir William O. Russell, Chief Justice of Bengal, and famous for his work on Crimes and Misdemeanours.

Miss Lavinia Fendell, Missionary philanthropist, Sept. 1840.

Sir R. T. W. Ritchie, Advocate-General of Bengal, 1854.

Michael Modhu Sudan Dutt, the greatest Bengali poet of the 19th Century: February 9, 1843.

The Marriage Registers date only from 1842.

Prior to these the following took place:—

The Rev. Daniel Cortie to Elizabeth Myers, daughter of William Myers, in Nov. 1812.

Colonel Hutchinson to Elizabeth Harrington Thomson, daughter of Rev. T. T. Thomson, in 1831.

Sir Henry Lawrence to Honoria Marshall on August 21, 1837.

From existing registers we find:—

Sir Thomas E. M. Turton, Sept. 1842.

Capt. Anderson to Esther [Alice?] Leech, daughter of the famous actress, 1844.

Sir George W. Kellner K.C.M.G., C.S.I., financier, April 1846.

The parents of Beatrice Harraden, novelist Dec. 1848.

R. H. Hollingberry to Miss Atkinson, 1849.

Thomas Payne to Anne Oman, daughter of David Oman, Jan. 1859; a member of this family is now Professor of Modern History at Oxford.

Lieut. Pakenham to Clara Hutton, daughter of Rev. H. Hutton, January 1863.

Capt. R. F. Lewis to Sarah Jane Welland, April 1874.

As might be expected many C. M. S. missionaries were married here, as Gwella, Mallett, Neele, Baumann, Davis, Leupolt, Russell, Harington, Ball, Parsons, Santer, Bell, Clifford, Bradburn.

APPENDIX IV.

TRUSTEES OF THE OLD CHURCH AND OF THE EVANGELICAL TRUST.

OF THE CHURCH.

Trust formed October 1787.

1817 C. Grant, W. Chambers & Rev. D. Brown.
1790 W. Chambers, Rev. D. Brown & G. Uday.

" " "
" " "

1815 G. Uday, Rev. T. Thomason & J. W. Sherer.

1826 G. Uday, Rev. G. W. Cranford & Rev. F. Goode.

1836 Rev. T. Dealtry & Rev. R. B. Boyes & G. Ballard.

1841 Archdn. Dealtry, Rev. R. B. Boyes & T. S. Kelsall.

" "

1844 Archdn. Dealtry, J. C. Palmer & T. S. Kelsall.

1849 Archdn. Dealtry, J. C. Palmer & T. S. Kelsall.

" "

" "

1854 Archdn. Dealtry, Cockburn & T. S. Kelsall.
1869 Rev. E. C. Stuart, Rivers Thompson & Moultrie.

1882 Rivers Thompson, W. H. Ryland & Cotton.

1892 W. H. Ryland, J. N. Stuart & S. Jacob.

From this point there have been only 3 Trustees who combined the duties of both Trusts:—

W. H. Ryland, Jas. Bourdillon, & S. Jacob.

Ryland, Jacob & J. C. Robertson.

Ryland, Bourdillon & Jacob.

Bourdillon, Jacob & W. H. Dobbie.

Bourdillon, Dobbie & A. F. Cox.

Bourdillon, Cox & Rev. W. H. Ball.

1900 Bourdillon, Cox & Rev. E. T. Sandys.

Cox, Sandys & Mr. Justice Caspersz.

OF THE FUND.

Trust formed December 1802.

1802 R. Burney, W. Myers & J. Wood.

1808 J. Wood, W. Myers & G. Hutteman.

1826 G. Hutteman, Jas. Murray & J. U. Sheriff.

1832 G. Hutteman & others.

G. Hutteman, W. Wallis & another.

1843 W. Wallis & others.

1849 W. Wallis, Rev. H. Thomas & another.

1853 Rev. H. Thomas, J. H. Ferguson & E. Currie.

1853 Oct. J. H. Ferguson, Rev. H. Hutton & S. Dodd.

Dec. Rev. H. Hutton, H. E. Braddon & J. H. Norman.

Rev. H. Hutton, H. E. Braddon & Withers.

1868 Rev. G. Lovell, D. Woods & Gillanders.

1869 Rev. M. D. C. Walters, D. Woods & J. H. Norman.

1870 T. Sterling, K. S. Peters & J. H. Norman.

1872 Col. Bacon, Peters & Norman.

1876 Col. Williams, Peters & Norman & Col. Touch.

1877 Col. Williams, Col. Haig & W. H. Ryland.

1882 Col. Haig, W. H. Ryland & Cotton.

1883 W. H. Ryland, Cotton & J. N. Stuart.

1892 Ryland, Stuart and Jacob.

- 1906 Sandys, Caspers & J. H. Bernard.
 Sandys, Caspers & R. G. Monteath.
 Sandys, Monteath & Mr. Justice Chapman.
 1910 Sandys, Monteath & F. G. Hawkins.
 1911 Sandys, Caspers & Monteath.
 1913 Sandys, Monteath & Chapman.
 1915 Sandys, Chapman & Hawkins.

(A) *The Old Church Trust.*

When the Old Church was about to be put up for sale as part of Kierlander's personal property, it was purchased, as we have seen on Oct. 31, 1787, by Charles Grant for Rs. 10,000 though it had cost over Rs. 70,000 to build, and he at once formed a Trust for it. In accordance with this Mr. Kierlander transferred the property to Grant, Chambers & Brown, on Trust, with power to appoint their successors by giving deeds of lease, release and assignment of trust to such new Trustees.

The property consists of (1) the Church, (2) the School-house adjoining the Church, (i. e. the lower story of No. 11) and (3) the Mission Cemetery (in Park Street on the North side). This Trust has descended in unbroken succession to the present Trustees.

(B) *The Evangelical Fund.*

This was started by the Rev. D. Brown in 1802. In December of that year a public meeting was held and 3 Trustees were nominated to hold the properties of the Fund.

On September 19, 1808 a meeting was held to lay down regulations for the management of the Fund, which was stated to consist of Rs. 35,000 besides the newly erected house No. 10, Mission Row, valued at Rs. 12,000 on land bought by Brown for the Fund, for Rs. 3,500 from Mr. Charles Weston. It was determined to continue till the Fund should reach 80,000 Rupens and to limit the scope to Ministers of the Church of England, and primarily for the maintenance of an evangelical ministry at the Old Church.

With this Fund, the top story of No. 11 was added, No. 10 was built, and No. 9 was bought from the Seal family.

At a meeting held on January 31, 1826, it was resolved that the property of the Fund be held by the 3 Trustees of the Church Trust and that the Trustees of the Church and of the Fund be joint managers of the Fund.

In 1826 the Trustees bought a property on Corawallis Square for Rs. 6,000 and built thereon Christ Church and Parsonage.

In 1896 the C. M. S. took over this property at cost price, in order to enable them to build a girls' school on the site of the Parsonage.

In 1892 the Trustees of the Church were also the Trustees of the Fund, and from that date the two have been managed as one.

In 1907 a plot of ground on the East of the Mission Row property had to be purchased to save the Mission property from very serious depreciation. This cost about Rs. 25,000. About the same time No. 9 was enlarged at a cost of Rs. 30,000 and the rent enhanced.

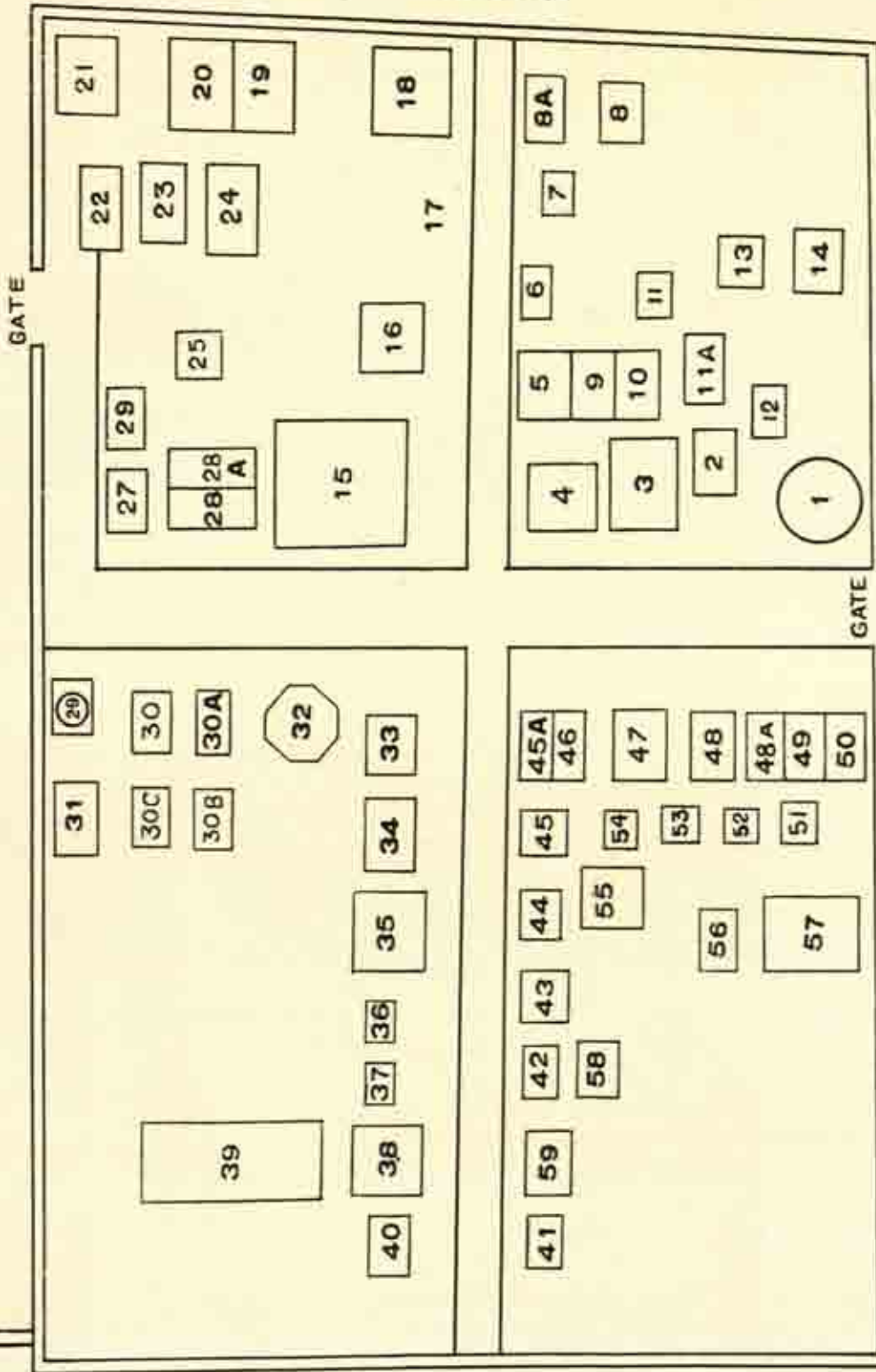
In 1910 a part of the compound was let to the Vestry on a ground rental, to enable them to build the Stuart Clark Institution.

In 1910 the income of the Trust was fourfold of the income of 1900, due partly to the expenditure of capital on improving the property. The actual capital in cash was reduced to only Rs. 20,000, so that much patient building up of the fund will be required. With careful investment and any donations which may be given, now that the public are made acquainted with the Fund and its objects, the Trustees look forward to increasing its usefulness, and by it to maintain at least 2, if not 3 clergymen, at the Old Church, and if possible to secure Evangelical clergy for other places in the Metropolis, where no regular ministry now exists; and to provide for local Missionary work in



OLD PUBLIC CEMETERY

OLD PUBLIC CEMETERY



FOOT PATH

PARK STREET

MACLEOD STREET

Bengal as well. The Fund, therefore, deserves, far more public support than has been given to it of late years.

APPENDIX V.

THE OLD CHURCH CHARITABLE AND EDUCATIONAL SOCIETY was formed in January 1866, in order to hold and administer the school properties and institutions connected with the Old Church rectory. These are —

1. The *Welland School*, 5/1, Grant's Lane, valued at Rs. 90,879 and mortgaged to Government in respect of building grants of Rs. 20,000.
2. The *Parochial Home* in Bowbazar, valued at Rs. 83,165 and similarly mortgaged to Government for Rs. 20,000.
3. The *Gouldsmith Free Day School*, valued at Rs. 23,309 on which Government has a lien of Rs. 15,000.
4. The *Settlement in Copalitoia*, bought for one lac borrowed from Diocesan Funds.

APPENDIX VI.

THE POWERSCOURT SCHOLARSHIP

at Bishop's College is in the nomination of the Trustees of the Old Church, who will be glad to recommend a suitable candidate when the scholarship is available. It is for students wishing to take a college course preparatory to engaging in the work of the Ministry. It is specially hoped that Eurasian or Anglo-Indian Candidates will offer and be nominated, as the Trustees will be particularly glad to encourage students from this community in their efforts to join the Sacred Ministry of the Church.

APPENDIX VII.

LIST OF GRAVES IN THE OLD MISSION CEMETERY

NORTH PARK STREET.

Numbered according to Plan.

NAME.	Born.	Died.	REMARKS.
1. Burney, Richard Thomas	1768	1808	One of three first Trustees of the Fund.
2. Templeton, Daniel	1765	1823	
" Eleanor	1787	1839	
Francis, Theodore Francis	1804	1827	
3. Murray, Mary	1780	1818	A Trustee of the Evangelical Fund.
" Charles J. D.	1800	1838	
4. May, Rev. Robert	1780	1818	
Balfour, Louis	1819	1821	
5. Wallis, Mary	1783	1825	
" Hannah & some infants	1780	1830	
" John Martin Wickins	1782	1851	
" William	1798	1801	
" Francis	1768	1831	
6. D. Rosario, Michael St.	1792	1850	
" Rosetta Olympia	1833	1835	
" Anna Jane	1801	1841	

NAME.	Born.	Died.	REMARKS.
7. Gogery, Mary	1798	1823	
" Daniel	1818	1830	
8. Chopin, John Francis	1776	1835	
" Mrs. Eleanor	1790	1820	
Recker, Capt. Chas. Henry	1820	1885	Of the Barque, <i>Rachel</i> &c. &c.
" Charlotte Alice	1838	1868	<i>Medina</i>
Chesterman, Eleanor Ann	1810	1888	Widow of J. P. Chester-
9. Templeton, Eleanor	1824	1841	man, Indigo Planter,
" Henrietta Margaret	1828	1846	Purneah.
" Matthew Steel	1814	1885	
10. Lee Margaret Templeton	1829	1830	
" Eleanor Sophia	1803	1858	
11. Jones, Grace	1812	1843	
" Rev. Daniel	1810	1853	
12. Outhrough, Elizabeth	1792	1845	
Burney, Lt.-Col. Henry	1792	1845	
" Richard	1790	1845	Trustee: Evang. Ed.
" Jane	1790	1842	
13. Sweetland, Hester	1810	1846	
14. Brisbane, Anne	1778	1848	
15. Kiernander, Mrs. Ann	1730	1773	Kiernander's 2nd wife Mrs.
" Rev. John Z.	1711	1790	Ann Wolley.
" Mary Ann	1821	1844	Wife of Thomas K.
" Thomas	1821	1817	3rd son of Capt. Charles K.
" William Ward	1817	1874	and do. do. Supdt. Govt.
" Louisa Constance	1879	1880	Golas, Howrah.
" Charlotte Anne	...	1886	Infant daughter of C. R.
16. " Thomas	1870	1840	C. K., Dy. Comptroller-
" Eliza Horner	1801	1857	General
" Arthur Henry Adolphus	1845	1857	Wife of C. R. C. K.
Morris, Thomas C.	1770	1800	Lieut. 67th Foot, drowned
" Miss Elizabeth	1768	1845	off Hughli Point.
" Louisa Ann	1819	1871	Widow of C. R. C. K.,
Kiernander, John Cameron Guest	1840	1866	Dy. Comptroller-General.
" John	1812	1857	3rd son of G. H. K.
" Alfred Leopold	1876	1877	Son of T. Morris, Attorney.
Higgins, Vendella Miranda	1846	1894	
Morand, Edith Rose	1854	1907	Inspector of Customs.
17. Wetherill, Janet	1841	1847	Infant son of George K.
"			Wife of William Higgins.
"			Wife of F. S. Morand.
"			Only daughter of Rev.
"			Jas. Edmund & widow of
"			Jas. Wetherill see No. 24
18. Lindsett, Master Robert Croll	1823	1826	Son of Fredk. L.
" Mrs. Rosalie	1765	1825	Mother of do.
" Frederick	1791	1833	Proprietor, Calcutta
" Mrs. Letitia	1802	1861	Academy.
19. Chill, Sarah	1787	1824	His wife.
" Samuel	1759	1845	Wife of Samuel C.
"			Lieut. & Dy. Commissary in
"			Bengal Artillery: "mpta
"			... mortua" says the tomb-
"			stone with fine disregard
"			of sex!!
Whitmore, Mrs. Emma Augusta	1817	1855	
20. Chill, Mary	1788	1840	2nd wife of S. Chill.
21. Duncan, Gordon Wardell	1820	1840	
22. Thompson, T. J.	1777	1843	
" Margaret	1790	1853	His wife.
23. Pickance, Rev. George	1800	1845	
" Mary	1807	1845	His wife.

	NAME.	Born.	Died.	REMARKS.
24.	Edmond, Mrs. Isabella	1787	1863	Widow of Rev. Jas. Edmond, see No. 17.
25.	Kiermander, Mrs. J. L.	1768	1808	Widow of R. W. K. and daughter of T. Morris.
	George Henry	1821	1899	Inspector of H. M. Customs, great grandson of the Founder.
	Mary	1827	1888	His wife.
26.	Harraden, Master, Wm. L. B.	...	1830	
27.	Lindatott, Jas. Daniel	1820	1837	Sons of Fredk L., No. 18.
	Walter Henry	1825	1840	
	Croll, Ann	1793	1863	
28.	Greenwood, Rev. William	1786	1840	Of Dewsbury, 1st C.M.S. Missionary of Bengal arrived May 27, 1815.
	Jane Dealtry	1830	1831	His infant daughter.
29.	Boyes, Rev., Rcd. Bethuel	1804	1841	Asst. Minister at the Old Church.
30.	Bridson, John Fred.	1816	1840	
	Dean, William	1819	1846	
30A.	Brience, Eliza	1774	1851	
31.	Keisali, Elizabeth Harriette	...	1847	
32.	Ohne, Christian Daniel	1752	1799	
	Sophia Maria	1797	1798	
33.	Lapremandaye, Stephen	1761	1835	
34.	Schmidt, Rev. Deocar	1719	1808	Arrived as C. M. S. Missionary 1817, afterwards Chaplain, East Female Orphan House.
35.	Wallis, James Henry	1866	1888	
	Dolly	1818	1846	
	Kate Sarah	1794	1831	
	Louisa	1818	1847	
	Henry	1788	1854	
	Ravenscroft, John	1840	1844	
	James Henry	1830	1860	
	Jane	1812	1851	
	Wallis, Isabella	1865	1865	
36.	Wilson, George	1746	1797	
37.	Moore, Thomas	1771	1786	
38.	Madge, James, Sr.	1751	1843	
	Harriet	1791	1864	
	Alfred Edwin	1809	1837	
	Mary L. Dickinson	1813	1842	
	Fred. Adolphus	1810	1845	
	James Horatio	1807	1846	
	Byron, W. Custalow	1831	1831	
	Madge, Arthur Owen	1830	1830	
39.	Frances	1820	1843	
	George Cully	1843	1843	
	David Walter	1810	1890	
	William	1805	1865	
	Ingles Lizzie	...	1864	
	Thomas Augustus	1817	1890	
	Eliza	1827	1865	
	Wilfred Heysham	1847	1864	
	Byra, Harriet	1830	1870	
	Terence Hugh	1873	1874	
	Franklin Don	...	...
	William	1805	1865	
	Caroline Amelia	1812	1890	
40.	Blenett, Jane Anne	1795	1833	
	Wiltshire, Isabella E. Frances	1830	1847	
	Hastings, Jane Anne	1847	1848	

NAME.	Born.	Died.	REMARKS.
41. Bolston, William	1791	1842	
" Anna	1802	1877	
42. Sheriff, Eliza Cordelia	1799	1859	
" James Urquhart	1797	1832	A Trustee of the Church.
" David	1829	1841	
" Urquhart, Hannah	1826	1848	
" John Willie &c.	1828	1848	
43. Dunbar, James	1769	1833	
44. Biscoe, Sarah	1754	1829	
" J. W.	1815	1825	
45. Berini, Charles	1803	1825	
46. Campbell, Capt. Donald	1783	1826	
" Mary	1793	1819	
47. Montgomery, Edward	1843	1848	
48. Wood, Elizabeth	1765	1817	
" Margaret	1832	1861	
" John	1764	1819	Trustee of Evang. Fund 1802-1819.
" Mary Ann & infant	1820	1851	
49. Turner, John	1782	1822	
" Elizabeth	1787	1841	
Ogilvie, George William	1845	1863	
" Mary Ann	1832	1838	
" Louise Marshall	1835	1839	
" Charlotte Elizabeth	1807	1875	
" Phillips J. B.	1836	1836	
" Lucy Ellen	1806	1866	
50. Marshall, Emma Eleanor	1838	1838	
" Margaret Elizabeth	1836	1849	
51. Phillips, Emma	1837	1839	
52. Senior, Edward Mullins	1851	1897	
53. Obeck, John	1729	1803	"The Apostolic Obeck," steward to C. Grant.
54. Wood, an infant daughter	1808	1809	
55. Weaver, John	1835	1836	
" G. S. Junr.	1815	1833	
" Edwin Harding	1846	1849	
" Emily Ann L. Mary	1816	1851	
" Rouse Harriet Emily	1842	1859	
56. Mayer, Mary	1854	1874	
" Amelia	1760	1843	
Fuchs, Maria Theresa	1784	1806	
Mendes, Theodora	1790	1871	
57. Mayer, Edward Henry	1860	1860	
" Edward Adolphus	1830	1878	
58. Ridsdale, R. Rowe	1848	1849	
59. Uday, George	1760	1820	Acty. Governor General, a Trustee of the Church.

Besides those who lie buried in the Mission Cemetery, others connected with the Church were buried in the public portions of the Park Street cemeteries and their monuments are of interest.

The Rev. John Christman Diemer, died in 1792, lies under a great obelisk near the entrance gate of the cemetery on the south side of Park Street, not far from that of—

The Rev. David Brown, near the entrance gate on the right as you enter. He was known as "The Patriarch" though he was only 49 when he died. One of the first 3 Trustees and a loyal friend of the Old Church, 1787-1812, and the true father of the Church Missionary Society.

Mrs. Mary Buchanan, though she died at sea near St. Helena, has a memorial tablet placed in the tomb shown on our plan just behind No. 19 in the Mission Cemetery. This tomb in the North Cemetery is that of Mrs. Charlotte Sandys, her sister.

George Samuel Huttenan, died 1843. A Trustee of the Fund 1808-1843.

Mrs. Ann Savage, died 1807, leaving Rs. 20,000 to the Evangelical Fund.

William Myers, died 1817. Trustee of the Fund, 1802-1817.

Mrs. Hannah Ellerton, died 1858, wife of Wm. Myers, afterwards married Mr. Ellerton. The Rev. Daniel Corrie married Miss Myers 1812.

An infant daughter of Corrie, named Emily.

Mrs. Ann Elisabeth Obeck, died 1788.

Mrs. Reichardt.

Henry Davenport Shakespear, who has a large monument in the Church.

APPENDIX VIII.

A LIST OF MONUMENTS AND MURAL TABLETS IN THE CHURCH.

(Names of clergy in Capitals and of Trustees in italics.)

REV. DAVID BROWN, died in Calcutta, 1812, see Vol. X, Pl. II, S. N. 20 p. 331.

Rev. Henry Martyn, died in Armenia, 1812, see Vol. XI, Pl. I, S. N. 21 p. 3.

Charles Grant, Esq., died in London, 1823, see " p. 6.

REV. T. T. THOMASON, died at Mauritius, 1829, see " p. 7.

Mrs. Sarah Graham, died at sea, 1829, aged 30.

George Udny, died in Calcutta, 1830, see " p. 9.

Rev. Walter Hovenden, B. D., died at the Sandheads, 1832, was Chaplain and Secretary at the Bengal Military Orphan Institution. Used to assist sometimes at the Old Church, aged 49.

Right Rev. Daniel Corrie, died at Madras, 1837, see p. 10.

Henry Davenport Shakespear, Member of Council, died 1838, see p. 12.

REV. R. B. BOYES, died in Calcutta, 1841, see p. 13.

Mrs. Mary Brown, died 1842, aged 76. "An Israelite indeed, in whom was no guile."

Mrs. Charlotte Vaughan, died at sea, 1842, aged 19. The young bride of Rev. J. Vaughan.

G. S. Hottelmann, died 1843, see p. 14.

Robert Swinhoe died 1845. Master of Lodge St. John's No. 713.

Mary Elizabeth Murray, died 1845.

James Swinhoe, died in London, 1849.

Edward Edlin, M. D., died 1850.

William Wallis, died 1851, see p. 16.

Wale Byrne, died 1855, see p. 17.

Charles Ware Bristake, died in England, 1855.

Right Rev. Daniel Wilson, died 1858, see p. 18.

Mrs. Hannah Ellerton, died 1858, see p. 18.

REV. HENRY THOMAS, died in England, 1859.

RIGHT REV. THOMAS DEALTRY, died at Madras, 1861, see p. 16.

David Woods, died 1869, Secy., Bank of Bengal.

REV. M. D. C. WALTERS, died 1869, see p. 19.

Rev. R. P. Greaves, C. M. S. Missionary, died 1870.

Elizabeth Hannah Ardeil, died 1871.

Archdeacon John Henry Pratt, died 1871, see p. 21.

Wullee ul Nissa, a Mohamedan lady and convert, died 1876.

Robert Fitcher, died 1877, see p. 23.

REV. JOSEPH WELLAND, died 1879, see p. 23.

Capt. J. Irwin Browne, died 1880.

Mrs. Frances Lindstedt, died 1881.

Mrs. Emma Lazarus, died 1882.

RIGHT REV. H. P. PARKER, died 1888, see p. 24.

- Charles Noyce Kinnot, M. D., died 1889.
 Jane Margaret Moran, died 1892, aged 74.
 Rev. Jani Ali, A. Mohammedan convert and C. M. S. Missionary, died 1894, see p. 25.
 Stephen Jacob, Esq., C.S.I., died 1898, see p. 28.
 Rev. Alfred Stark, C. M. S. Missionary, died 1903, see p. 29.
 Mrs. Mary Morton, died 1904.
 Edward L. W. Haskow, died 1908, see p. 31.
 Henry Shaw Cashman, died 1910.
 Lady Macpherson, died Jan'y. 1913.
 Mrs. Maud Swindon, died 1910.
 C. H. & R. D. Lander, J. H. R. Harley & J. E. D. Lander.

APPENDIX IX.

A LIST OF PORTRAITS IN THE OLD CHURCH ROOM.

1. *The Rev. J. Z. Kinnander*, Founder of the Old Mission Church and Pastor from 1770 to 1787. A portrait of him was painted in 1773 by "Baron" Imhoff, whose wife Warren Hastings married. From the painting an engraving was made at Nurnberg and has been preserved in the Old Church Room, see frontispiece.
2. *The Rev. David Brown*. An enlarged photo by Messrs. Johnston and Hoffman from a block prepared from a miniature painting ministered at the Old Church, 1787-1812.
3. *The Rev. T. T. Thomson*. This painting was made in 1826 at the request of the congregation, when he left for England after 18 years' ministry at the Old Church.
4. *The Rev. Henry Martyn*. A cabinet photo of the painting at St. John's College Cambridge, which is a copy of the original by Timothy Hicke and sent to Charles Siman and now in the Cambridge University Library.
5. *Bishop Daniel Coorie*. The picture was painted in England by Sir Wm. Beechey in 1838 at the request of the congregation and of a public meeting convened in the Town Hall, Calcutta. It strikes one as a poor likeness, not nearly so forceful as the engraving in his memoirs. The picture cost £15-10 plus £3-8 freight.
6. *The Rev. Thomas Deatry*, Chaplain of the Old Church, 1827-1847, painted by J. Reynolds Gwatkin 1837. There is also a bust of him by Stevens of Pimlico, London, 1849.
7. *The Rev. Henry Thomas*, Son-in-law of Deatry. This picture is the best in the room, and was painted by Krumholz in 1855.
8. *The Rev. George Lovely*, retired in 1869. The picture bears the initials L. D. C. It was painted in England, 1872.
9. *The Rev. M. D. C. Wallers*, Junior Chaplain 1869 to 1869.
10. *The Rev. Joseph Welland*. A painting by W. Pope was too thickly laid on with colour, and cracked with the climate. There is, however, an excellent enlargement by Messrs. Johnston and Hoffman, from another portrait.
11. *Bishop Edward Craig Stuart*, Secretary, C.M.S., Calcutta, became Bishop of Waiapu, New Zealand, and later on went as Missionary to Persia. He died in 1911.
12. *Bishop Henry P. Parker*, Secretary, C.M.S., and Evening Lecturer at the Old Church. Bishop of Eastern Equatorial Africa, died 1888.
13. *Bishop Alfred Clifford*, Secretary, C.M.S. Calcutta, Bishop of Lucknow 1892.
14. *Rev. C. S. Harrington*, Incumbent, 1882-1889.
15. *Rev. A. H. Bowman*, Incumbent, 1880-1889.
16. *Rev. H. Gouldsmith*, Incumbent, 1890-1900.
17. *Rev. A. Stark*, C.M.S., Missionary.
18. *Rev. S. H. Clark*, Incumbent, 1900-1907.

APPENDIX X.

SOME INSTITUTIONS CONNECTED WITH THE OLD MISSION CHURCH.

1. *The Hebrew Mission* was begun 1824, though in 1838 the Rev. G. Lovely took some interest in work among Jews in Calcutta. In 1894 a room was taken in Radha Bazaar. In 1895 a move was made to Lower Chitpore Road and a Sunday School opened for Jewish Children. In 1896 a day school was opened in September and by December the attendance was 30. It was moved to Chatawala Gully off Bowbazar, with 80 children on the books. Books and sometimes clothing are given free, also a free tiffin every day, some being so poor that this is their only meal in the day. Dr. Price, who was a converted Jew from Germany, was employed as a Missionary among the Jews for time but he left.

2. *The Parochial Home* for girls was commenced in 1871 by the Rev. E. C. Stuart for poor and destitute girls. During the seventies the average number was 10. Under Mrs. Harlington it rose to 20; and under Mrs. Gouldsmith to 30. There are now 70 entirely supported by the Old Church.

3. *The Gouldsmith Free Day School* was begun by Mr. Gouldsmith. A good building was erected by the Rev. W. C. Gibson in 1908. It has about 170 children. Some of them were so ill-fitted that they fainted with the strain of lessons. A free tiffin was instituted, which is given to 100 children. On arrival they receive also a cup of cocoa or mango.

4. *The Welland Memorial High School*. Has been maintained for many years and has done a useful work in preventing Protestant children from being absorbed into the Roman Catholic Schools. Owing to the increasing demands of Government for High Schools it is impossible to meet the required expenditure, and it has recently been closed. It had an attendance of 130.

5. *The Stuart Clark Institute* for young women in business. Young girls receiving very low pay in the firms where they are employed are exposed to grave dangers and it is difficult for them to find suitable lodgings. Mr. Clark raised Rs. 30,000 and in 1910 the Institute was built adjoining the Church. It has accommodation for 35.

6. There are 4 *Sunday Schools* in the Parish, besides Bible classes for young men and for young women.

7. *The Buchanan Mission Settlement* was started by Mr. Hadow, a large Indian house was purchased, and has gradually become the centre of much work.

Mission Services are held for some 60 or 70 people.

A Temperance Meeting is held every Wednesday.

Cottage Meetings every Friday.

A Men's Meeting every Saturday.

A Hindustani Mothers' Meeting on Thursday.

A Children's Hour and Scripture Union on Friday.

8. *A Boy's Home & Boys' Scouts* are a prominent part of the settlement. There are some 20 to 30 boys who are boarders, being entirely supported by the Institution.

9. *The Word Mission* scheme is supported by the Old Church, which has a Missionary Prayer Circle and gives towards Missionary work in the Parish.

10. *A Hindustani Service* is held every Sunday in the Church room.

11. Services are held in the *Sailors' Home* and in the *Medical College Hospital*, and at the *Peodell Home* in the Sundays in the month.

12. *Outstations*. The Old Church is responsible for services at Lilloosh and Santragachi.

The total amount collected in offertories during 1914 was Rs. 8,134 and in subscriptions and donations Rs. 59,775 making a total of Rs. 67,909 or nearly £4,534. This gives some idea of the vitality of the Old Church and its institutions. With the exception of the Cathedral, no other Church in Calcutta raises so much money or does so much for the Eurasian poor, as the Old Mission Church. It deserves all the help that it is possible to give, that its usefulness may be maintained and extended; and the Incumbent of the Old Mission Church is always ready to show how you may help.

E. T. SANDYS.

Christian Tombs at Bankipur and Patna—IV.

BETWEEN the 11th and 14th June 1913, the Rev. A. Gille, S. J., copied all the inscriptions at the Patna Catholic Cathedral, and these are now being edited by myself in a special list to be published by the Bihar and Orissa Government. A certain number of other inscriptions copied by the Rev. A. Gille can find no room in that special publication, but will doubtless be welcomed in *Bengal: Past & Present* as the sequel to three earlier articles. (Cf. Vol. IX, pp. 28-39, 176-180). The subject is still far from exhausted, but we may hope that the members of the newly formed Bihar and Orissa Research Society will make it a point to publish or get published all the Christian inscriptions in their Province. A complete list of such inscriptions from Bihar and Orissa is badly needed.

1. Our first 5 inscriptions come from an old graveyard near the compound of the Nuns of the Institute of Jesus and Mary, close to the Catholic Church of Bankipur. In *Bengal: Past & Present*, Vol. IX, 1914, p. 30, I published 2 others from that graveyard.

2. Three other inscriptions were copied in a more modern cemetery opposite the Convent of the Nuns of the Institute of Jesus and Mary, Bankipur. There are many more at that place, all unpublished.

3. The next inscription, that to Major Ranfurly Knox,* is from a monument on the Market, Patna. Dr. C. R. Wilson, in his *List of Inscriptions on Tombs and Monuments in Bengal*, p. 218, states that it is to be found just on the east side of the Judge's Cutcherry, Patna.

4. Another 18 come from the Patna Old Cemetery, a short distance from the Catholic Cathedral, Patna, i.e., on the right of the road leading from Bankipur to the Patna Cathedral. Dr. C. R. Wilson describes the place as at Patna, *Mahala Jorhatta*, on the south side of the main road from Bankipur. In *Bengal: Past & Present*, Vol. IX, 1914, pp. 30-32, we published 20 inscriptions from this cemetery. Much work remains to be done here, but we have now, practically, all the oldest epitaphs. Somehow, and in spite of my protest in *Bengal: Past & Present*, Vol. IX, 1914, p. 180, I overlooked, on Jan. 13, 1913, the monument to the English Officers massacred in 1763 by order of Mir Kasim and Somru. Our last entry from this cemetery is a close, but undeciphered, imitation of an inscription. The Ven'ble the Archdeacon

* An illustration appeared in *Bengal: Past & Present*, Vol. X, p. 4.

W. K. Firminger, republished also from *The Bengal Obituary (cf. Bengal: Past & Present, Vol. IX, 1914, pp. 35-37)* to inscriptions which must come from this same cemetery, and only two of which are represented in Fr. A. Gille's list.

I. BANKIPUR OLD CEMETERY.

1. 1824.—Sacred / To the memory of / GILBERT MACLEUR KENNEDY / Who died at Patna / The 18th of September 1824 / Aged 36 years. /

2. 1828.—To the memory of / JOHN SHUM, ESQRE. / of the Civil Service / who departed this life / on the 13th of March 1828. / This monument is erected / as a mark of esteem & affection / by a few of his surviving friends. /

See on him the notes by Archdeacon W. K. Firminger in *Bengal: Past & Present, 1914, Vol. IX, p. 37.*

3. 1829.—HARVEY PRICE / Son of THOS. PRICE WYNNE / Assistant Surgeon at this station / and of Anne Maria his wife / Born 2nd April 1827 / Died 27th April 1829 /

4. 1858.—To the memory / of / MRS. J. KELLERER and her infant son, wife of / MR. J. F. KELLERER Baptist / Missionary Patna 17 years and 6 months they lived / together in true Christian happiness and love / Who departed this life 26th Novr. / 1858 at the age of 34. As a private Christian she / was sincerely devoted to the Lord. As a public Christian / her property was devoted to His cause, and Kingdom. / Ladies take an example and follow her at least in / part. Her husband who erects this Tablet to her / memory rejoices in his great grief of having had such / a dear follower of the Lord as a partner in life. She / leaves behind her one daughter, 4 sons, and a step son to / bemoan her irreparable loss. /

5. 1865.—In memory of / REV. L. F. KALBERER / Who having preached the Gospel / in Patna for 29 years fell asleep / in Jesus on the 29th of November / 1865 / Blessed are the dead who die in / the Lord from henceforth: / Yea, saith the Spirit, that they may / rest from their labours and their / works do follow them. Rev. xiv. 13 / (sic).

II. CEMETERY OPPOSITE THE BANKIPUR CONVENT.

6. 1834.—Here / lies the remains of / MARY HANVEY / Born 12th May 1833 / Died 22nd Sept. 1834 /

7. 1835.—Here / lies the remains of / the Infant Daughter of / Mr. W. HANVEY. / Born 7th Sept. 1835 / Died 6th Dec. 1835. /

The name Hanvey occurs several times at the Patna Catholic Cathedral.

8. 1837.—Sacred / to / the memory of / THOMAS DENTON / who
 departed / this life on the / 4th day of May / 1837 / Aged 44 years. /
 One Samuel Denton, who died in 1831, is buried in the Patna Old Cemetery.

III. MONUMENT TO MAJOR RANFURLIE KNOX.

9. 1764.—Here lays Deposited the Earthly Remains / Of the truly
 Gallant MAJOR RANFURLIE KNOX / who after Having / Lived / many
 Years in the Military Service / of the Hon'ble the United East India
 Company / Universally Esteem'd and Belov'd / Died / On the 28th day of
 January 1764 Aged 34 Years / As Universally Lamented. / Reader, /
 Whatever the Principles of thy Religion may be / Form thy Life after his
 Example. / So shall the Pious Tear never be wanting to be shed / To thine
 as to His / Memory.*

IV. PATNA OLD CEMETERY.

10. 1763.

In Memory of
 CAPTAIN JOHN KINCH
 FIRST LIEUTENANTS—RICHARD PERRY, and GEORGE HOCKLER;
 LIEUTENANT-FIREWORKERS JOHN BROWN, ARDEAN DECKERS,
 JOHN READ, and BENJAMIN ADAMSON.
 Of the Hon'ble East India Company's Artillery;
 CAPTAINS—CHARLES ERNEST JOEGER,
 HENRY SOMERS, JAMES TABBY, and GEORGE WILSON;
 LIEUTENANTS—RICHARD HOLLAND,
 GEORGE ALSTON, and SIR WILLIAM HOPE, BARONET;
 ENSIGNS—JOHN GREENTREE, ROBERT ROBERTS, DUNCAN MACLEOD
 WILLIAM CRAWFORD, WILLIAM HINCLES, ISAAC HUMPHRIES,
 JOHN ROBERT ROACH, JOHN PERRY, and WALTER MACKAY,
 of the Hon'ble East India Company's Infantry;
 DOCTORS—CAMPBELL and ANDERSON;
 Messrs. HAY, ELLIS, and LUSHINGTON, servants of the Hon'ble
 East India Co
 Who,
 With many other captives,
 were,
 on the nights of the fifth or sixth, and the eleventh of October 1763,
 brutally massacred near this spot
 by the troops of MIR KASIM, newab subahda of Bengal.

* Compare *Bengal: Past & Present*, Vol. IX, p. 35.

under command of
WALTER REINHARDT, alias SAMRU, a base renegade.
E Dedecore Hostium nata est gloria Eorum.

Calcutta.

Llewellyn & Co.

More complete than in Dr. C. R. Wilson's *List*.

11. 1787.—To / The Memory of / JOHN WHEARTY / Who departed
this Life Decr. 13 / 1787.

Wm. Huggons.

12. 1789.—To the Memory / of / JOHN MITCHAUD * / Who departed
this life / July the 26th 1789 / Aged 43 years.

13. 1792.—Here lies / WILLIAM ARNOLD / Who died 3rd Augt. 1792.

14. 1798.—Here lays the Body of / ANNE BURGESS / Daughter of /
DAVID and ANNE BURGESS / Born 30th December 1794 / Died 6th
September 1798 / Aged 3 years, 9 Mths. and 8 Days. / †

15. 1803.—To the Memory / of / Mr. JOSEPH LIEF / Who departed
this life / 27th May 1803. / ‡

16. 1804.—Sacred / To The / Memory of / FRANCES RAWLINS, /
The Daughter of the late / THOMAS and CATHERINE MARY POWNEY, /
and wife of JOHN RAWLINS of Patna, / Who departed this life on the 1st
January 1804 / Aged 30 years, / Who as a wife and a Mother, / the
proper spheres of female excellence, / evinced the most tender and faithful
attachment, / the most enlightened zeal, / the most disinterested devotion ; /
nor were her virtues confined within these limits.

Compare with No. 19 in *Bengal : Past & Present*, 1914, Vol. IX, p. 32.

17. 1804.—JOHN ADIE / Died 24th Feby. / 1804. /

18. 1809.—To The / Memory of BIBBEE / MOOTY who departed / this
Life on the 13th of / September 1809 / Aged 50. / Erected by her / Daughter
FANNY.

She may be the lady whose name we missed in No. 17 of *Bengal : Past & Present*, 1914, Vol. IX, p. 31. The name Mooty is probably faulty for Mutti. Some of the Mutti Venetians, must have been in the service of the Begam of Sardhana, for one died at Sardhana in 1839. cf. E. A. Blunt, I.C.S., *List of Inscriptions on Christian Tombs..... in the U. P. of Agra and Oudh*, Allahabad, 1911, p. 17.

19. 1812.—MARY ANNE MACLEOD / Daughter of / NORMAN &
ELEANOR MACLEOD / Born November 17th, 1811 / Died September 12th,
1812.

Philip Hunt, Sec.

20. 1813.—ANNE AUGUSTA MONEY / Daughter of / WIGRAM
and ANNE MONEY / Died 23rd June 1813 / Aged one year and twenty-
one days.

* I wrote the name "Mitchard" in *Bengal : Past & Present*, 1914, Vol. I, p. 31, No. 9.

† This is more complete than my No. 16 in *Bengal : Past & Present*, 1914, IX, p. 31.

‡ After "Lief" there follows either an E or F.

21. 1815.—Sacred / To the Memory of / ELIZABETH KING / Born the 19th Oct. 1809 / Died the 2nd June 1815.

22. 1818.—Sacred / To the / memory / of / FRANCIS LE GROS, ESQRE. / Late / Commercial Resident / of Patna / who departed this Life the 10th / of May 1818 aged 55 years.

P. White.

23. 1819.—Sacred / to the memory / of the INFANT SON / of / WILLIAM and MARY ANNE LAMBERT / who departed this life on the 20th Day / of / October 1819 / Aged two Months and three Days.

24. 1822.—Sacred / To the Memory of / SARAH ANN / the Infant Daughter of / WILLIAM and JESSY GRAY / who departed this life / on the morning of the 28th Jan. 1822. / Aged 27 Days.

Suffer little children to come / unto me, and forbid them not, / for of such is the Kingdom of God. / *Luke* xviii. v. xvi.

25. 1882.—Sacred / To the Memory of / RICHARD MILBANKE / Son of / RICHARD MILBANKE & CAROLINE TILGHMAN / Who departed this life / June 22nd, 1822 / Aged 1 year, 6 months and 22 Days.

26. 1823.—Sacred / to the Memory of / LIEUT.-COLONEL DONAT VAUGHAN KERIN / who died at Patna / on the 3rd December 1823, Aged 64 Years / Sincerely lamented by all who knew / his worth & experienced his bounty. /

J. Llewellyn, Sec., Calcutta.

Published in Dr. C. R. Wilson's List.

7
W. Llewellyn, Sec., Calcutta.

ALPHABETIC INDEX TO ALL THE NAMES RECORDED ABOVE.

N.B.—The dates are those of demise.

	No. of inscription.		No. of inscription.
Adamson, Lieut. Fireworker Benjamin, 1763	10	Lambert, Mr. William	23
Adie, John, 1804	17	Le Gros, Mr. Francis, 1818	22
Alston, Lieut. George, 1763	10	Lief (?), Mr. Joseph, 1803	15
Anderson, Doctor, 1763	10	Lushington, Mr.—, 1763	10
Arnold, William, 1792	13	Mackay, Ensign Walter, 1763	10
Brown, Lieut. Fireworker John, 1763	10	Macleod, Miss Mary Anne, 1812	19
Burges, Miss Anne, 1798	14	Macleod, Mr. Norman	19
Burges, Mr. David	14	Macleod, Mrs. Eleanor	19
Burges, Mrs. Anne	14	Macleod, Ensign Duncan, 1763	10
Campbell, Doctor, 1763	10	Milbanke, Master Richard, 1822	25
Crawford, Ensign William, 1763	10	Milbanke, Mr. Richard	25
Deckers, Lieut.-Fireworker, 1763	10	Milbanke, Mrs. Caroline (née Tilghman)	25
Denton, Mr. Thomas, 1837	8	Mir Kasim	10
Ellis, Mr.—, 1763	10	Mitchand, Mr. John, 1789	22
Gray, Mrs. Jessy	24	Money, Miss Ann Augusta, 1813	20
Gray, Miss Sarah Ann, 1822	24	Money, Mrs. Anne	20
Gray, Mr. William	24	Money, Mr. Wigram	20
Greentree, Ensign John, 1763	10	Mooty, Bibi, 1809	18
Hanvey, Miss Mary, 1834	6	Mooty, Paung	18
Hanvey, infant daughter, 1835	7	Perry, Ensign John, 1763	10
Hanvey, Mr. W.	7	Perry, First Lieut. Richard, 1763	10
Hay, Mr.—, 1763	10	Powney, Mrs. Catherine Mary	16
Hincks, Ensign William, 1763	10	Powney, Mr. Thomas	16
Hockler, First Lieut. George, 1763	10	Price, Master Harvey, 1829	3
Holland, Lieut. Richard, 1763	10	Price Wynne, Mr. Thomas	3
Hope, Sir. William, <i>Barf</i> , 1763	10	Price, Mrs. Anne Maria	3
Humphries, Ensign Isaac, 1763	10	Rawlins, Mrs. Frances, 1804	16
Jocher, Capt. Charles Ernest, 1763	10	Rawlins, Mr. John	16
Kellerer, Mrs. J. 1858	4	Read, Lieut.-Fireworker John, 1763	10
Kellerer, infant son, ?	4	Reinhardt, Walter, <i>alias</i> Samru	10
Kellerer, Rev. L. F., 1865	4-5	Rosch, Ensign John Robert, 1763	10
Kennedy, Mr. Gilbert Maclear, 1824	1	Roberts, Ensign Robert, 1763	10
Kerin, Lieut. Col. Donat Vaughan, 1823	26	Shum, Mr. John, 1828	2
Kinch, Capt. John, 1763	10	Somers, Capt. Henry, 1763	10
King, Miss Elizabeth, 1815	21	Tabby, Capt. James, 1763	10
Knox, Major Ranfurly, 1764	9	Tilghman, Mrs. Caroline	25
Lambert, infant son, 1819	23	Whearty, John, 1787	11
Lambert, Mrs. Mary Anne	23	Wilson, Capt. George, 1763	10

SCULPTORS.

Huggors, William	11	Llewelyn, J. Calcutta	26
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H. HOSTEN, S. J.

The Members' Note-Book.

THE following two inscriptions taken from *The Oriental Obituary...*, Vol. 2, by William Urquhart, and printed by him at the Journal Press, Madras, 1810, were formerly in the Cemetery of St. John's Church, Calcutta. Are they still there*? They do not appear in C. R. Wilson's *List*.

1. Here lyes interred the body
RICHARD ARCY,
Merchant,
who departed this life the 15th November,
Anno Domini 1708,
In the thirty-fifth year of his age.
(*Cf.* p. 117.)
-

2. Here lies interred the body of
MRS. FRANCIS RUMBOLD
Wife of
THOMAS RUMBOLD, ESQ.
who departed this life in child-bed, August 22nd, 1764.
Aged Twenty six.
This monument is erected in memory
of the many virtues she possessed,
and which made her truly amiable in the several relations of
A Child, a Wife, a Parent, and a Friend.
(*Cf.* p. 106.)
-

H. HOSTEN, S. J.

* The answer is no. Editor

The Letters of Mr. Richard Barwell—VII.

No. CCXIII.

Dacca,

To RALPH LEYCESTER, ESQ.

The 5th November 1773.

Dear Leicester,

Unaccustomed to disapprove the sentiments—principle of action or conduct of my friends—I am stranger to those nice distinctions which can define a thing wrong because it comes from a man for whom we profess an attachment, and yet it shall be the self-same thing the rectitude of which we shall have no doubt or scruple while it proceeds from ourselves. Mr. Stephen Lushington and yourself have views to India, a brother to serve or to answer some particular purpose of your own. If it is right then that you should wish to introduce Mr. Stephen Lushington to the Direction and wrong that I should interest myself for a friend, one who has no other tie than to serve me or push my pursuits than merely an opinion founded upon and to be supported by a propriety of conduct on my part, one on whom I have no claim for support, no family connection, no tie of blood to induce him to carry me through every scene of life, to palliate indiscretions which too frequently occur or to swell my virtues should I happily possess any. *That the servants abroad should interfere in the election of Directors and solicit notes of their friends for the nomination of men under whose orders they are to act* becomes every day more and more necessary, nay, it becomes indispensably so, because it is the only step that promises to secure them that countenance from which alone they are enabled to derive a support to their just pretensions and to protect them from that superior weight of influence which men by resigning the Company's Service and repairing to England, too often acquire, to the great detriment and injury of those Company's servants who are abroad and incessantly toiling for their service. As the truth of this cannot be denied and the facts are too frequent and recent in the Service, *vide* the number of injurious appointments to allow an argument upon it. Will a man in his senses be simple enough to adopt your Utopian system, and, without friends, claim the reward of merit such as the world is to judge of, the majority of the individuals of which have long been pronounced by men of the greatest talents and

knowledge to be equally fools and knaves. Bad as this picture is of human nature, it may be a just one, and therefore renders it more incumbent on the upright man to read men as well as books to allow for the weaknesses that mark different characters and benefit by their follies and vices. How many men with blushing merit (which you say is alone to push a man forward), capacities adapted to the highest stations, and the performance of the greatest actions, are lost to themselves and to the public. Detraction, with an influence as subtle and powerful as the strongest poison, insinuates itself to the ruin of the man who meriting well is above opposing the arts of the world or attempting to obviate its pernicious effects. Do we not see numbers of worthy characters most villainously aspersed and many the victims of unjust and groundless suspicions raised by the specious converse of knaves? Surely then it is necessary to do more than merit well; it is incumbent upon us, if we would insure to ourselves success in life, to recommend ourselves to those who wish us well, by every service in our power to perform, to express, to show our attachment on all occasions, to assist in every way a friend's pursuits—and that in all situations in life and under all circumstances. With this fixed principle of conduct should it be my happiness to obtain friends of a similar way of thinking. I may be more fortunate and successful in life than I have hitherto been. For whatever reason I have to thank Providence for the many unmerited blessings, I feel few and trifling are the benefits I have drawn from the good-will of others with whom I have been connected; yet I may venture to affirm there be few people, Leicester, in Bengal who have more powerfully and uniformly advanced the interests of individuals than I have done or answered the wishes of their connections in an equal degree.

I am concerned to find you express the sentiments you urge in support of Mr. Reid and a nomination to the Service. The argument you advance is founded on an erroneous principle that Reid etc. were never under me in the Service, but if a man or set of men who have never served the public and, of course, can have no merit to plead for its favour, is by the partiality of the times brought into employment and intercept my rise to those stations, I should have succeeded to, had their appointment not interposed, you must allow that I am prejudiced by the measure, that my right of preference grounded on the merit at least of having served the Company, (a merit Reid etc. could not plead when they were set above me,) has been entirely set aside in their favour and of course is superseded; or else I really misunderstood the sense in which the word is used. From the common acceptance of it I did suppose it to be nothing more than an interception of the rights of others: whether that be by men who had previously acted in the stations subordinate to those above whom they are advanced, or by men who were never in any

station is immaterial. The nature of the injury by the appointment of strangers to the Service is so far from softening it that it rather aggravates the act, for this reason that a junior servant may have the merit of superior services to plead which is the only just title that a preference can be grounded upon, whereas the man who has never rendered any services to the public, on what grounds does he advance his pretensions to a preference? Is it upon a self-sufficient opinion he may urge of his own abilities to serve the public better than others? Surely it might become him to be more modest, and it would show more equitably in those who rule, to direct such men to pass a probationary test, a course of service to approve themselves superior to and more deserving of the public favor, and then with propriety they may distinguish and advance them as their merits point out. This is my idea of the injury I have sustained by the appointment of Aldersey, Reid, Dacres and Lane. Of these Aldersey and Lane were translated from the Madras establishment to that of Bengal. You sufficiently know they cannot pretend even to a merit with the public. Reid, who was a stranger to the Service, was introduced to it and in a station superior in it to me who was at that time a servant of two years. Dacres was my superior in the Service because engaged in it before my appointment. The principle, however, that gave him the superiority (a longer course of Service) ceases to operate in his favor upon his reappointment after he had once quitted it, which he did not do upon the plea of health, but because he possessed what he thought a competent fortune and was dissatisfied at the appointments to the Service that intercepted his rise in it, *viz.*, the gentlemen from Madras, Reid, Lane, etc. I have said the principle that gave Mr. Dacres a superiority to myself in the Service and to operate in his favour before his reappointment to the Service. The principle was this that Mr. Dacres had served the Company longer, my engagement being subsequent to his, but, taking in the time of my service from the period Dacres resigned to his returning to Bengal reappointed, my right grounded on the self-same principle rises superior to his. I have served the Company longer, and yet he is still my superior. I fear my prolixity may have tired your patience, though to be explicit, I flatter myself you will think, I have been as concise as the nature of the subject admits me to be, and that I neither invert the principle nor deviate in my argument in that point on which custom has established all the rights of the Company's servants when superior merit for services rendered does not influence the public to bestow some distinguishing mark of its favor on a particular individual who has been so happy to attract its attention. Mr. Dacres' friends, when they gave him the service the last time, said in the public letter: "Mr. Dacres who came home on account of his health we have appointed to his station and he proceeds to your Presidency on such a ship."

The Directors either knew not the letter of resignation Mr. Dacres wrote to the Board of Calcutta at the time he left their Service, or they would not know it, for the letter speaks very plainly that the pretext on which the Direction ordered his readmission to the Service not so much to have been thought of, much less advanced by Mr. Dacres. These, Leycester, are a few of the advantages resulting from well-wishers among the gentlemen to whose ordinances the servants abroad must subsist. I have many thanks to give to my friends for the appointment. I now hold nothing could have been more grateful, no measure in my opinion more judicious. The station may not be so lucrative as Patna, but it is more out of the way and would have been offered me an opportunity of gaining much credit with the Company had the lands not been leased before I came to the charge of the Chiefship.

My best respects to Mrs. Leycester with wishes of happiness to yourself and your rising family. Adieu, I am, etc.

No. CCXIV.

Dacca, Nov. 10, 1773. Bill of Exchange.

No. CCXV.

12th November 1773.

To the HON'BLE MR. WARREN HASTINGS.

DEAR SIR,

I am this instant favored with your letter of the 7th desiring that *I will myself determine* whether the first part of my correspondence with Mr. Russell shall appear upon your records as neither of my letters upon that subject leave you at liberty to communicate it *formerly* or withhold it from the notice of the Board. Permit me here to assure you that it ever has been and is my full intention and wish to leave that entirely to your option. I have not the least inclination to place any matter on record which any of the Gentlemen of the Board think might be omitted. My transmitting the whole of what had passed was designed merely to show that I had not an option left me to decline a reference touching the last instance of intemperate conduct Mr. Russell was guilty of; that there is a necessity of recording the first part of that gentleman's behaviour does not appear to me so obvious. The only thing that strikes me in relation to the subject, is the remark of the Board respecting "impropriety by prejudicing Mr. Russell in a matter which could only be determined by the Board." This is harsh to a member of the body that holds the rights of judging offences and may appear a more just reflection if the temper I treated that gentleman with through the whole of

his disagreeable altercation did not stand recorded on your proceedings—I have not another motive to wish it to be recorded, nor do I desire it if in the judgment of the gentlemen the *imputation of impropriety* in drawing my opinion for the necessity of Mr. Russell's recall may not be rendered lighter by it. You desire I will *myself determine*. I experience a great deal of difficulty to answer you ignorant of your inclination and this my last letter inferred very strongly. However if you approve and do not choose to consider the request preferred, had it not, as the subject now stands, be better recorded entire. I wrote my sentiments to you in confidence, and beg you will in return treat me with the freedom of one who wishes to erase every idea of past occasions of difference and to obtain instances of your friendship. Those who have admitted my professions have never, I am confident, had reason to question their justness; but on the contrary every cause to acknowledge them supported throughout with a firm and stout regard to their principle. What more then, can I say, your inclination is mine, and a further word then becomes unnecessary.

I am, Dear Sir,

Your obedient & devoted humble servant.

No. CCXVI.

Abstract of Letter.

I have received a line from the Governor desiring I will myself determine whether the first part of the correspondence shall be recorded, as neither of my letters upon that subject leave him at liberty to communicate it formally or withhold it from the notice of the Board. With the same letter I received the public one condemning Mr. Russell's conduct and reflecting upon me for anticipating the determinations of the Board. I know not how justly I am charged with impropriety for delivering my opinion on a subject which came immediately before me and of which I must have formed a judgment when I transmitted it to the Board. However that may be, I conceive, as the matter now stands, the correspondence had better be recorded entire, that the temper I treated Mr. Russell with, through the whole of his disagreeable altercation may, in some degree, lighten the reflection passed by the Board for my anticipating their judgment, but as I wish in this, as on every occasion, to be directed by the superior judgment of others, I shall with pleasure decline recording the first part of Mr. Russell's correspondence, should it be thought unnecessary. To this effect I have expressed myself to the Governor. I own myself subject to error; I feel myself hurt by the Board's reflection and to render that lighter is my only motive for imagining that the temper I have observed towards Mr. Russell should fully appear.

No. CCXVII.

DACCA,

15th November 1773.

J[ames] C[ator] to Mr. Thomas Tulloh.

[Of no interest].

Nos. CCXVIII—CCXXI.

Dacca, 15th Nov. 1773. Bill of Exchange.

" 16th " " J. Cator to Thomas Tulloh. Of no interest.

" " " " Bill of Exchange.

No. CCXXII.

DACCA,

19th November 1773.

TO JOHN GRAHAM, ESQ.

DEAR GRAHAM,

YOUR letter of the 6th is this instant received. Your request touching your letters I comply with. The observation that volumes on the subject could not justify my anticipation of the Board's decision on the reference I made to them, for explain it away as much as I may, I doubtless pronounced sentence on Mr. Russell, and left the Board no other alternative but to approve or reject my judgment—is a mode of reasoning I confess myself to be so stupid as not well to comprehend. I suppose, however, that it implies me blameable for having delivered my opinion that there appeared to me a necessity for Mr. Russell's removal, and that he had conducted himself with great impropriety by contemning all respect and subordination to the authority of Government. The facts were plain. As a member of the Board I, therefore, conceived it my part to speak my sentiments, and, as the head of the Community I am set over, it behoved me more particularly to disapprove of the conduct of any of its members when it rose to so unjustifiable a pitch as to call upon me to check it by a more than common exertion of authority, and to notice it to the Board; for, even in cases where such notification to the Council is not necessary, I apprehend it is my duty to express my disapprobation, should individuals under my orders be guilty of improprieties; and, if this is my duty in trivial cases, how much more so does it become a duty by the importance of the occasion. I have done all this, and in having done so I confess I perceive not how my conduct can be estimated culpable. I guessed too that the Board would think Mr. Russell's recall absolutely necessary. I guessed happily, and in this likewise I perceive not

how my conduct can be deemed blameable. I had the same ideas that the Board entertained of Mr. Russell's conduct. I hope I cannot be esteemed culpable for such similarity of sentiment. I expressed those ideas: "there I was faulty"—it may be so, for few men know when they should speak their sentiments and fewer still that the sentiments so delivered shall be approved, and the promulgation of them yet condemned. But to "anticipate the Board's decisions" is an expression I am at a loss to define. The Board is competent on all occasions, without restraint, without controul. How then, or by whom can "their decisions be anticipated"? Their decisions may approve or condemn the sentiments of any individual of their body, but these sentiments cannot direct (if that is meant by anticipating) the Board's judgments. As to any inquiry into Ramrutton's conduct, as it appeared to me from the investigation I made of it, he has nothing to apprehend and nothing to fear; and Mr. Russell, I should suppose, whatever may be his temper of mind, will scarcely be inclined to urge the claims made upon himself and his banian for the benefits of the *zemindary* converted from the *zemindars* to his use and emolument; for, exclusive of all improper charges, Rs. 6,000 per annum besides the *russoom* and a very large sum taken by Ram Conny is exhibited both in the *zemindar's wootoolat* and Ram Conny's accounts: all which, on a nice scrutiny, Mr. Russell and his banian are undoubtedly responsible for; and I apprehend, if the matter is carried further, they will be forced to refund. Thus circumstanced it appears to me that Mr. Russell may hurt himself, and will certainly be disappointed in his wish to affect Ramrutton, unless something I am ignorant of can be laid to his charge, and which I have no reason to surmise there can [be], for admitting even that the *zemindars* may have made Ramrutton a compensation, it is more probable that he has answered it by any assistance he may have given to secure to themselves their just rights; and, as the labourer is worthy his hire, he must assuredly be vindicated on that principle. So much occurs to me touching any inquiry proposed to the prejudice of Ramrutton, which I neither wish nor am solicitous he should avoid.

I am, Dear Graham, etc.

No. CCXXIII.

DACCA,

23rd November 1773.

To the HON'BLE WARREN HASTINGS.

DEAR SIR,

Under cover of this you will receive two publick letters for the Board—the one a copy, the other original. If it is expected that the revenue of

Nurrullahpore shall be duly accounted for, some coercive means will be necessary to enforce a proper attention to your orders, for the Ranny and her officers are so lawless and above controul, that a very strict watch must be kept over them to prevent the disregard and inattention, obvious in all this transaction, to the public interest. I am doubtful whether Nurrullahpore in its present state will answer the *bundabust* that has been settled. A little care and attention, however, I know, will raise its *malguzarry* to yield a very large profit to the zemindar; but while a zemindar is eaten up by the harpies in employ, and cannot himself attend to his own business, the lands will ever be impoverished in order to force the zemindar to partial sales, until his exigences reduce him to make a total alienation, and his estate becomes partitioned into a number of talooks; for it is the interest of those in employ under a zemindar to bring the lands into bad condition, and in such reduced state from the fund raised by their embezzlements to purchase in the best parcels of lands themselves, and thus from servants to raise themselves to be masters.

My not having been favoured with your sentiments respecting the Mutah Ponnee salt contract has brought me into a kind of dilemma in replying to the order I received for stating the salt contracts to the Board which you may remark from my letter. The contractor refuses all advances without the conditions of the engagements he entered into are regarded; whether they may be or cannot be regarded rests with you to inform me, and, conformably to your reply, I will or will not notice the obstacle which destroys Coza Kowall's Mutah Ponnee contract. A further petition from Coza Kowall is enclosed.

My letters to the Board respecting the mint not being returned, I am in hopes Stuart will be continued in charge of it.

The Dacca Nawarrah, if not all required at the Presidency, I could wish might in part be returned, for this is a land of rivers in the Irish style which to convey the idea in English would require much circumlocution.

I am, Dear Sir,

Your devoted humble servant,

No. CCXXV.

DACCA,

25th November 1773.

To WM. BENSLEY and J. PRICE, ESQS.

[Of no interest].

No. CCXXVI.

DACCA,

25th November 1773.

TO SAMUEL MIDDLETON and JAMES ELLIS, ESQS.

[Of no interest.]

No. CCXXVII.

DACCA,

25th November 1773.

TO MESSRS. BENSLEY AND PRICE.

[Of no interest].

No. CCXXVIII.

DACCA,

29th November 1773.

TO WILLIAM MAKEPEACE THACKERAY, ESQ.

DEAR SIR,

I am favored by your letter of the 20th and preceding it by another letter the date of which has passed my memory the subject the same. You must be sensible my inclination leads me in all points to consider your wishes as far as may be consistent with the indispensable duty of my public office; those I must perform and allow a superior claim to my consideration. A reference in all my complaints is my intention, and my intention remains the same, but when it is re-presented that an obvious interest thwarts or obstructs a repeated application for justice in a cause of Meum & Teum, you are sensible I can not deny my interposition or refuse to bear it before me. This is the necessity under which I issued the summons on Fulram and Massood Bux, and is the only necessity under which I shall ever interfere, and could I preclude all applications that bring it upon me it would give me a double pleasure, first by avoiding the trouble occasioned to myself; secondly by answering in the fullest manner your desire that the whole concerns whether public and private relating to the province of Sylhet or individuals who reside there, be submitted to you.

Circumstanced as I am, it is at present only in my power to protract the time of Fulram's and Mussood Bux's summons which I do, by a *perwannah* intimating the cause and directing their attendance within two months from the 1st *Poos*. In this period, I flatter myself, you will be able to adjust your

transactions with Fulram & Mussood Bux, as they must at that time absolutely attend me unless the former settles with his creditors and the latter can compromise with the party who pretends to have been injured by him. The *hurkarraks* guilty of the attempt of exacting money shall be punished; the usual allowance is to be made to them by the Assamcees, and the *hurkarraks* as officers of the *Cutchery* must remain upon them until they appear at Dacca, as the withdrawing the order and people who proceeded with it, would show in the light of the orders from the *Cutchery* being trifling and revocable, whereas nothing ought to be fixed and determinate to confirm the natives in opinion of a steady and uniform administration.

You may be perfectly easy with respect to any change further than the abolition of all charges. If the *Cutcheries* are necessary the farmers must petition for them and they will be supported at their sole charge.

P.S. I have written repeatedly for the Bengal accounts and without effect which forces me to note it in my public letters. Be so kind as to acquiesce in that particular and furnish me with the Bengal papers.

P.S. The complaint against Mussood Bux being for talooks and as his right may as well be pleaded by a vakeel, I have altered his *permannah* and desired that he shall send a vakeel immediately with all his papers and your examinations of the matter mentioned in your letter.

Nos. CCXXIX—CCXXXVIII.

Dacca, 1773.	4th Dec.	Bill of Exchange.	
"	"	"	To Nicholas Grueber, Esq. No Interest.
"	"	8th	" To W. Bensley and J. Price.
"	"	"	" J. Cator to J. Price.
"	"	13th	" J. Cator to Henry Leake.
"	"	"	" To Mary Barwell.
"	"	"	" To Warren Hastings.
"	"	"	" To W. Bensley and J. Price.
"	"	21st	" Ditto.

No. CCIXL.

DACCA,

The 15th December 1773.

TO JOHN HAWKESWORTH, ESQ.

MY DEAR SIR,

I addressed you the 9th of November since which period of time a representation has been made by the French to our Government on the

subject of grievances they experience at Dacca. The nature of their complaint points out the justness of the remarks I have already made and the improper conduct of my predecessors in not checking their encroachments on the authority of the Country Government in the first instances when those appeared; for had this been done, it would have precluded at once the high pretensions they now advance, pretensions incompatible with and destructive of the laws of every state and community where they may be admitted. I enclose you the papers in answer, with the complaint preferred by the French. You will perceive from those the object they have in view and how far the obtainment of that object must affect your acquired interests in this country.

The report which I sometime past observed to you of a change likely to affect the station I hold, has not taken place, not by my recall, but by the appointment of a Council to the charge of the Revenue Department at which I am placed as the head. This new arrangement with the reasons assigned for it, when applied to an ancient and fixt establishment, will appear to you, as it really is, a mere plausible pretext to lessen the consequence of my appointment from England and deprive me of the superior benefit which arises to every man entrusted with full and unshared authority. The measure, however, as far as it relates to the public administration, is not liable to any just objection, unless it is by erasing the mark of confidence and approbation with which my friends influenced the public to distinguish me, and this indeed it has done most effectually, as the superintendence of the revenue always vested in my predecessors without any council to share in the superintendence, shows to the minds of all the natives that, instead of the Company having distinguished me by any superior degree of confidence, that they do not hold me so worthy in their opinion as my predecessors, the men who have held a more full and extensive authority—the criterion by which alone they can judge the fullness of that confidence the public reposes in its servants.

The system adopted at present for the management and superintendence of the provinces is certainly well calculated for a more equal and active administration, and seems to be grounded on the very plan which gave so much offence in my minute on the removal of the Khalsa to Calcutta—with only this difference that my minute proposes smaller divisions of the provinces, allows Collectors appointed from the junior servants to be stationed in them for the local administration and gives the superintendence to the different members of the Council at Calcutta, because at that time the members of the Board were restricted to Calcutta by the express orders of the Company, whereas the system resolved only the Governor and Council, fixes the administration and superintendence of the provinces in a local council

where a member of their body presides and divides the lands into larger partitions without Collectors who are all recalled. I have been informed, how truly I cannot say, that Mr. Hastings has received intimation from his friends in England that the plan which he has pursued in removing the Khalsa and centering the whole minutie of business in himself by allowing to his Council their deliberative voice only, without any partition in the active superintendence or management of the interest of the country, is likely to receive some alteration by a more general partition of the executive authority and immediate management being ordered to his Council, that upon this and some hints of what the Regulations are to be he was willing to preclude the idea of their being ordered in opposition to his wishes by anticipating them and rendering them as his own. Whether this is mere conjecture of fact will be evinced by the expected despatches, as the Company will in all probability either confirm the plan Mr. Hastings fixt on the removal of the Khalsa or deviate from it in those respects wherein it is unequal to the ends proposed to be accomplished by it. I enclose you the public letter and such instructions as the Council have sent to the Provincial Board; it explains the ground on which they proceed and very injudiciously alarm the servants with a declaration of his being a temporary expedient, for to this fluctuating state of the service may be justly imputed a number of the abuses complained of, and indeed it may be expected when servants can place no reliance that a faithful discharge of their duty will continue them in station; that in prudence they will make the best of that sunshine which happily falls to their lot. The salaries allotted to the several members of the Calcutta Council under particular restrictions will, I fear, show in these times of necessary economy, that however little the Council have consulted the servants in general in their reduction of expenses, they have not been deficient to themselves, and that they judge not themselves by the same criterion they have fixt for their judgment of others, for while they distress the needy part of the Service by abolishing all allowances to them, they add to those they themselves formerly reaped, without any public authority for doing so but their own pleasure and self-complaisance. The interdiction they are pleased to lay on themselves will appear downright mockery and repugnant to common sense, as they can barely maintain their household upon it, so far from being able to lay by from it a sum that may enable them in process of time to repair to Europe. How then are they to raise a competency to themselves if their salary will not give it to them, and if they debar themselves, as they pretend to do, of all other means, why they wish it not, they intend to be meer pensioners of the Company and to serve them all the days of their lives. To digest such inconsistencies is, I confess, above my powers; and though I am to take the salary

I must declare the reasoning to be nought on which it is given. All public stations have, and it is necessary they should have, genteel appointments to support them. Those to the Council of Bengal are by no means to be placed in comparison with the stipend that the Company give to the Governor; nor indeed is there room to expect it. However the Company, as far as they can afford it, should consider their Council and in proportion to the importance of the trust delegated to them, give them salaries to place them beyond the reach of temptation or the bias of an improper influence. The provision the Council have made for themselves is sufficient and equal to such end, while they are not restricted or debarred the honest means of raising to themselves a competency, but if those are denied to them, the present salaries are by no means adequate. The aim and ultimate object of all who resort to this country is in process of time to return to their friends. Of course they will indirectly, if they cannot directly, engage in commerce, and if they do engage in it, as they undoubtedly will, the present appointments instead of placing them above the reach of an improper influence, will only bring them more within its power, for as it will be easy for any Governor to obtain a knowledge of their clandestine traffic, he apprehensive of his discovering them to the public and on such discovery ejecting them the Service, will render them entirely dependent, and instead of a Council, make them the mere creatures of his Government. The Direction, therefore, had better disapprove at once of all unnatural restrictions their servants make a shew of laying upon themselves, convinced they make no sacrifice of their own public interests by allowing to their Council a privilege in common with all to the interior commerce of the country. These are my ideas; how just their clearness and perspicuity your own judgment must decide.

In my former letters I have already touched on the general commercial interests of the Company. Those which fall within my particular province I am very sorry to remark, are in a most deplorable state, and that nothing but the most unremitting degree of attention can possibly restore them from the condition to which they are reduced. A letter of mine to the Committee of Commerce which goes enclosed shows the difficulty of the task I have to perform, a task which I am not without hopes of executing to my wishes, if the interference of superior power does not check and render fruitless my endeavours to bring your investments from Dacca into more repute than they have for these some years past been. The scheme of contracting for the Company's investment is doubtless a good expedient and such as might take place with benefit to the public, if it was possible to exclude entirely the influence of a private interest; but when you look to your Cossimbazar silk investment from the conclusion of the year 1769 since which it

rose in price nearly sixty per cent, you will find you risk for a precarious advantage a certain and what ought to prove a more beneficial mode, that of providing your own goods from the manufacturers themselves. A gentleman wholly ignorant of the nature of the trust reposed in him was at that time Chief of your factory at Cossimbazar and had the peculiar good fortune in the short space of time from 1769 to 1771, from his want of knowledge, and this mode of contracting, to raise the price of silk from Rs. 9 the seer to 13 or 14 Rupees the seer, a mistake from which, I fear, your commercial interests at Cossimbazar will never recover. Mr. Aldersey is now appointed Superintendent and Comptroller-General of your investment. I heartily wish the opportunity thus afforded him of raising your manufactures may be attended with happier effects than what has followed from his former endeavor at Cossimbazar. Experience, the surest ground of all knowledge, he has now ample time to obtain, but the proof of his having benefited by observation depends on the good which may accrue to the Company from his ministration in office and to this test I deliver him over.

My sister having mentioned to me the disappointment she has experienced by the non-payment of the bills I sent to my attorneys in order to relieve her, I have directed to be put on board one of the ships to be dispatched by the month of February a lac of Arcot rupees in bullion, but [in view of] a publication lately issued by Government subjecting all exports of bullion from this country to Europe to a commission of five per cent payable to the Company in England, I am to request, if it may be done, that you will get this heavy charge remitted to me on the plea of the peculiar disappointment and distress that necessitated me to send specie. The loss I must submit to without this further charge and the charge of insurance from the difference between the value of silver in Asia and Europe is at least twenty-five per cent; but if a difficulty attends the answering my wishes in this instance, and it cannot be brought about except in the light of a great favor done me by the Company, I beg you will decline asking for or urging it. I enclose you my public letter to the Board for permission to take the money, but as I knew not the ship's names under dispatch, a blank is left to be filled up by my attorneys. The scene of business in Calcutta attracting my attention, I propose in a few days to proceed thither, and as the adjusting and regulating affairs here previous to my visit requires my time, I beg you will excuse me to my sister for not writing to her and inform her that, though I have received two very polite letters from Mr. Maclean, he does not mention in either a word of the loan she made to him when in England. She need not, however, be uneasy on that account as I shortly see Mr. Maclean at the Presidency, when I will break the matter to him should he not take notice of it to me.

I am, etc.

P.S.—I have enclosed the sequel to the correspondence of Mr. Russell since its reference to the Board, and I make no doubt you will think the conclusion of such a subject once brought before a public body of men as extraordinary as the correspondence itself. But it is the happiness of some men to know on what ground they stand and to urge the advantage they hold from particular connections.

No. CCLVI.

Dacca, 1773.	Dec. 22.	Bill of Exchange.	
"	"	Do.	
"	"	28. J. Cator to R. Barwell.	Of no interest.
"	"	29. Do. to W. Bensley & J. Price.	"
"	1774. Jan. 1.	Bill of Exchange.	
"	"	J. Cator to W. Bensley & J. Price.	"
"	Jan. 3.	Bill of Exchange.	
"	"	J. Cator to W. Bensley & J. Price.	"
"	"	10. Do. to Wm. Barton.	"
"	"	12. Do. to Joseph Price.	"
"	"	13. Do. to Richard Barwell.	"
"	"	19. Do. to Wm. Barton.	"
"	"	20. Do. to Joseph Price.	"
"	"	24. Do. to W. Bensley & J. Price.	"
"	"	25. Bill of Exchange.	"
"	"	J. Cator to W. Bensley & J. Price.	"

No. CCLVII.

Dacca,

1st February 1773.

To The Hon'ble WARREN HASTINGS.

Dear Sir,

The instant of my arrival, letters I received from Calcutta communicated the probability of Middleton's suffering in the opinion of the Directors by the mention made of my disappointment in the nonpayment of his bills in my application to your Board for permission to load a lac of rupees for Europe; as Middleton is the last man I would be instrumental in affecting, and my only view was to obtain from the Direction admission of the 5% duty which I could only be considered in, by the peculiarity of the circumstance that obliged me to remit money at so great a loss under the

expectation of the bills being returned protested by the first ship of the next year, yet, as I understood Middleton thinks it may hurt him, I willingly and with pleasure resign my hope to gain a remission of the duty of £500 sterling to satisfy Middleton, and beg as a particular favour my application may be erased from the records. Had I known or entertained an idea, when I was in Calcutta, that Middleton had any particular wish to have my letter expunged, I should have done it at the instant without a moment's hesitation; but as I never was informed of Middleton's sentiments or conceived it possible my letter would hurt him, I was induced to attempt to save, if possible, the duty on the exportation of the bullion I sent; because if Middleton's bills were paid the consequent loss became mine and not his.—Excuse my entering so fully into this matter. It has been intimated to me Mr. Middleton's friends interested themselves by informing me it was his wish, I should not mention in my application the disappointment I suffered from the non-payment of his bills and that he was apprehensive it would injure him at home. It is very true some gentlemen did say they imagined my application would do Middleton no good, and I replied it was impossible it could do him any harm, whereas, if I neglected to mention the circumstance of my disappointment, my friends could with no face ask for the remission I expected to obtain. I have been long acquainted with Middleton and can say there is not a man who wish him better than I do. Of course I am much hurt by his sentiments on my address to your Board being kept from my knowledge by those who know them and noticed the subject to me without telling me it was his wish I should withdraw my application. I flatter myself, however, I am now in time to convince him I had no other inducement than I have here expressed in making the application I did with the mention of his name.

NO. CCLVIII.

DACCA,

2nd February 1774

TO SAMUEL MIDDLETON, ESQ.

Dear Middleton,

I never was so much surprised as by the letters I have received this instant from Pattle. This you will fully perceive by the copy of my enclosed address to the Governor. Believe me, I should be very sorry to suffer in your opinion, and am extremely hurt at not knowing your sentiments before sending on my letter to the Board which mentioned nothing of Chevalier; only the disappointment in the non-payment of the Bills, I have received from you.

No. CCLIX.

Dacca, 1774. Feb. 3. J. Cator to Wm. Barton. Of no interest.
 " " " " Do. to W. Bensley & J. Price. "

No. CCLX.

DACCA,

3rd February 1774.

To MR. LOVER OLIVER.

Dear Sir,

The evening before I left Calcutta Mr. Hastings asked me what time I judged might be sufficient to enable you to close the concern you had charge of at Mirzapur, and upon my answering it was impossible for me to fix a particular period, but that I was certain you would conclude the adventure as soon as possible; and my repeating my request for your continuing in Bulwan Singh's country he answered, "Well! I give my permission but depend Mr. Barwell upon your word that Mr. Oliver interferes not the least with Opium," I replied I thought I knew you sufficiently to stand engaged for your conduct, and in consequence passed my promise. You should decline opium, salt petre or any other article of commerce he might be inclined to interdict you, but he only repeated opium, and as salt petre was mentioned by me, and not noticed by him, I am dubious if the Council have any provision of it making for them; if not, (which you will find on enquiry), you may then purchase salt petre. None of the articles in your letter will sell for a profit here. A remittance in bills I would prefer to bullion, if the exchange is reasonable and term of payment 20 days sight. Shawls of sorts, if as cheap as those purchased two years past, will answer very well, and you may buy 40 or 50,000 Rupees worth, but remember the major part should be fine shawls and as many of them as you can get white, or the brown colour the Hindoos wear. Purple, red, dingey yellow are bad and unsaleable colours. You need not mention to any one the permission you have to continue at Mirzapur as it may give rise to application from other quarters and can do you no good.

I am, dear Sir, etc.

No. CCLXI.

Dacca, 1774. Feb 7. J. Cator to W. Bensley & J. Price. Of no interest.

No. CCLXII.

Dacca, 1774, Feby. 8. Richard Barwell to Ensign Leake.
[Printed in *Bengal Past & Present*, Vol. V, p. 184].

No. CCLXIII.

Dacca, 1774, Feby. 8. Richard Barwell to W. M. Thackeray.
[Printed in *Bengal Past & Present*, Vol. V, p. 187].

No. CCLXIV.

Dacca.

8th February 1774.

To MR. WILLIAM MAKEPEACE THACKERAY.

DEAR SIR,

I have received from the bearer 321 Guries instead of 322 and the man declares he has not received from your sircar more than 321. I thank you for the supply of this article and shall be further obliged by your increasing the quantity a little.

Yours.

No. CCLXV.

Dacca.

8th February 1774.

To HENRY GOODWIN, ESQ.

DEAR GOODWIN,

I have this instant received your letter of the third: had it been despatched the day it is dated, I ought to have received it by the 7th. I am very much concerned and much hurt at what has passed on the subject of that letter. Belvedere, you must know, does not belong to me, and that I have held it only during the pleasure of Mr. Aldersey, and, consonant to that idea, I can do no otherwise than relinquish it, whenever he is pleased to request it of me. Agreeably to this, I addressed you yesterday and forwarded my letter through Mr. Aldersey. Could I have conceived that my desiring Mr. Aldersey to mention to you his intention of going into Belvedere, which rendered it necessary for Mrs. Thompson to remove into my house, would have been attended with so disagreeable [a result] as has resulted from it I should doubtless have mentioned it to you myself the intimation I received from Mr. Aldersey of his intention to go into Belvedere; but, as it never occurred to me that you would suppose I inhabited Belvedere independent of

a reciprocal obligation to Mr. Aldersey for it, I did not conceive it possible that the circumstance would have escaped you, and that Mr. Aldersey's requiring Belvedere of me which induced me to request my own Garden House for Mrs. Thompson's accommodation should not have struck you. When Mr. Aldersey, at my request, informed you that he proposed going into Belvedere, I heartily wished and flattered myself that the occasion I had given the Governor to take exception at the part I acted would have been buried in oblivion, and nothing further have arisen to give me fresh uneasiness on that account. And in this I entered into a full explanation of my motive and candidly related the dilemma I was in, leaving it to him to resolve for me, after considering the peculiar circumstance which rendered me anxious to retain my purchase. As I flatter myself Mr. Hastings is satisfied with the deference I shall always be happy to pay to his wishes, so I shall always be ready to acknowledge any obligation I owe to the attention he is pleased to show to mine, and had he insisted on my yielding up the point, after what I had said to him upon it, he well knows (that however averse I might be to it), I submitted it entirely and wholly to himself. I have now only to expect—and I think that I have some right to expect it—that you will not be offended at my accommodating Mrs. Thompson to whom I can offer no other habitation than the Gardens you occupy. My town house is engaged to Mr. Barton and his family, and, was it not, a residence in town is not agreeable to Mrs. Thompson.

I am, dear Goodwin,
Your most obed. and humble servt.

No. CCLXVI.

DACCA,

8th February 1774

TO WILLIAM ALDERSEY, ESQ

DEAR SIR,

Since my letter to you of yesterday, I have received one from Mr. Goodwin. I have too much reason, after what has past, to lament the request I made to you to speak to that gentleman. You must be sensible that I could not have an idea of the result; and I therefore hope you will excuse a circumstance so little thought of and so little expected by me. Mr. Goodwin's former letters and my replies I have sent copies of for your satisfaction. I likewise send you my answer to his letter now before me to be closed and forwarded by you after perusal.

I am, etc.,

No. CCLXVII.

Dacca, 1774, Feby. 10. R. Barwell to Warren Hastings.
 [Printed in *Bengal Past & Present*, Vol. V, p. 184.]

No. CCLVIII.

Dacca,

10th February 1774.

To WILLIAM BARTON, ESQ.

[Of no interest.]

No. CCLXIX.

Dacca,

15th February 1774.

To SAMUEL MIDDLETON, ESQ.

DEAR MIDDLETON,

Under charge of a naig and 6 men I send to you four people who were apprehended in consequence of my order. The repeated complaints of the merchants against the chokydar of Huttubarry Gaut obliged me, about two months ago, to send a parwannah to the man not to interrupt the trade from Dacca, intimating to him at the same time the orders of the Board for the abolition of all zemindarry chokeys. I would not trouble you on that occasion, as I flattered myself nothing of the same nature would again call for my interposition, and that Santiram's people would have been more discreet than to repeat the exertion of a power, which being so absolutely prohibited by the public regulations, subjected them to the pains and penalties, to be incurred by a disregard of those regulations. Mr. Holland, whose assistant Mr. Duval is, intimated that he thought the obstruction given by the chokydar should be brought upon our public records, and an exemplary punishment inflicted on the delinquent, to deter similar aggressors; but this I declined, observing it might be followed by ill consequences to Santiram, and that you would doubtless take care to see Mr. Duval reimbursed, and by warning Santiram of the folly of his agents prevent a repetition of it. I send you Mr. Duval's account of the salt taken out of his boats, and beg you will inform me how he is to be compensated for the loss, whether Santiram pays it in to your hands or in what way the compensation is to be obtained.

I am, Dear Middleton,

Yours sincerely,

P. S.—I send you Mr. Duval's notes.—R. B.

Nos. CCLXX—CCLXXII.

Dacca, 1774, Feb. 16.	J. Cator to T. Tulloh.	Of no interest.
" " " 22.	Do. to W. Bensley & J. Price.	"
" " " 22.	do.	"

No. CCLXXIII.

DACCA,

21st February 1774.

To CHRISTIAN FREDERICK BRIX, ESQ.

DEAR SIR,

I have received your letter of the 16th. Mr. Bensley having employed Mr. Morris, I can assure you upon my word, is without my knowledge, and I can only attribute it to a view of saving some of the law charges as Mr. Bensley himself had some claim against the estate of Luckondutt and probably united me with himself in the bill of complaint filed by Mr. Morris. This I hope you will erase the idea of my having sent any instructions to Mr. Bensley to engage any other Advocate than you. I am too sensible of the attention and abilities you have shown in managing the trust I confided to you not to wish to acknowledge it when occasions may offer.

I have executed the paper not to distress Lambert; I could have wished, however, that nothing of the depending suit had been mentioned, for this reason, that Lambert by the payment he offers seems to have me in his eyes, and upon such an engagement may possibly be able to litigate the payment of the decrees which he thus bleeds with his demands against Jekyll on the decision of the Mayor's Court. If this is his intention, and I conceive it may be, I would much rather stand his appeal, for that would not throw me back so much longer or subject me to further embarrassment from the law. I should then know what I had to depend upon, and am confident my counsel in England would soon bring my cause to issue, whatever delay might attend the following Mr. Jekyll. His interest may possibly lead him to spin out a decision as long as possible. Mine leads me to urge as speedy a one as is in my power, and this I think I can facilitate independent of Jekyll's appeal. I have not the least objection to wait for the amount of the money Lambert is to pay me and even fix a term of three years for receiving it. I only wish I have nothing to say to the depending appeal. I would, therefore, propose a simple engagement in lieu of the present one, saying I have received 30,000 rupees in part of the decrees and that I engage not to demand the balance with interest before the termination of 3 years unless Mr.

Lambert demises in that period and then the engagement is void. If you will bring this about I shall be much obliged.

I am, Dear Sir,

Your most humble servant,

P.S. Having perused and reconsidered the arguments which induce me to give a simple engagement to Lambert I do not return to you the instrument you sent to me, but rather choose to stand his appeals if he will not accept my simple engagement.

No. CCLXXIV.

To The Hon'ble WARREN HASTINGS, Esq.

President and Governor, etc., Council.

DACCA,

21st February 1774.

HON'BLE SIR & SIRs,

A day or two before I left the Presidency, your Secretary, at my instance, delivered to me a copy of Mr. Grueber's address on the subject of the Dacca investment. As to the justness or propriety of my remarks on the goods invoiced to you the 3rd of December, I can only say that they are such as appeared obvious to my judgment, and such as were absolutely necessary to re-inspire that confidence in the merchants who are purchasers at the public sales made by the Hon'ble Company. I considered every species of deception fraught with consequences discreditable to the name and honour of the Company as merchants, and destructive of the reliance which has long been reposed on those descriptive marks supposed to define the quality of the goods contained in the bales distinguished by such stamps. To this end, as your Dacca investment is so much fallen off, and the quality of the goods now exported to Europe so different from the goods formerly exported under the same descriptive marks, not to have noticed their relative fairness and value by a comparative view, must have given force to and fixed that diffidence which has already taken place in the minds of the merchants: for while under the same marks and numbers they observe so great a disparity in the goods now sent and formerly sent, and this disparity not noticed in the invoice or any comment upon the invoice, they must naturally attribute such differences to great inattention in those who in-bale the goods, and this distrust will rise in proportion to the frequency of the instances that occur. Having thus explained the principle that led me to adopt the mode of describing every article of the Dacca investment separately, I have only to express my wish for its not being attended with any ill consequences. Should any good result from it, I shall

be happy in the reflection of my endeavours having produced in the least degree the end to which they have been directed.

To the other parts of Mr. Gruebar's letter, I think it incumbent on me to declare, I have been induced purely by motives of a public nature, and wish not to partake of the credit of another, to leave to him the merit and the blame, which may be his due for the provision of the investment of the present year. It is true I think that investment dear and ill provided. This is mere matter of opinion, and will be proved upon inspection and the judgment of better judges; I heartily wish, however, for Mr. Grueber's credit that the investment may be approved by the Hon'ble Company. That gentleman is pleased to say he has exerted his best endeavours to give satisfaction to the public. If those endeavours are not answered with success, it certainly should not be attributed to him as a fault but a misfortune, to which every man is liable, and from which the greatest attention, supported by the best abilities, is not exempt.

The letter now before me tells the Board I have said "no better provision is to be expected than what is already come down." If I have said so, I confess it has passed my memory and is very contradictory to the sentiments I have all along entertained. I, therefore, presume that such a declaration made for me proceeds from inadvertency. The goodness of every investment depends upon its price, in proportion to its reduction every article becomes valuable to the purchaser who is to judge by no other criterion than the gain he is to make upon it. Inattention to this particular, of course, will subvert the very end which a merchant must have in view, and once lost sight of, he will find his pursuit of profit entirely disappointed. Mr. Grueber, when he speaks of the benevolent intentions of the Company that enjoin encouragement to be given to the manufacturer, says "every one must know that a Chief invested with the authority of the Company may have goods at what price he pleases," and how far this is consistent with such intention he makes a question. With me, I confess it is not a question. I consider the scope of the order to be founded in reason, and that while the Company expect justice (for in that sense I receive the word encouragement) to be done to the manufacturer, they doubtless order it with a due consideration to themselves, for it would be an absurdity to suppose such injunctions were given to encourage imposition or exactions on themselves. The manufacturers are to be protected and are to be encouraged by receiving the dues of their labor. Those who are at their head, the public may be assured, never will pay them more than their just wages; and that the enhanced prices at which goods of every denomination now stand, and to whatever pitch they may be hereafter increased, will tend very little to benefit the fabricator. In all countries

this is the case, for it is the interest of those who conduct manufactures in all countries to raise the price; but that their workmen will be little if anything the better for the superior's gain, is a fact of which everyone who has made the least observation must be a competent judge. The demand, of course, almost becomes unnecessary, that the labourer in the manufactures established in all countries can have very little interest in enhancing the price of the manufactures; for as they have not the means of purchasing the materials they fabricate, they must submit to the terms of those who can furnish them with the materials or the means of purchasing the materials, and be content with the wages merited by their labour; and here it is my purpose to note that an equitable and moderate encouragement must be as much the interest of those who stand in need of the art of the workmen, as it is the workman's interest to labor when he finds equitable encouragement. Anything more than this, instead of being beneficial to the manufactures of a country, would be directly contrary, because in proportion to the facility with which this class of people should be placed above the necessity of labouring, the incitement to follow their vocations would be less strong, their attention would be devoted to pursuits more agreeable to the independence of their situations, and they would be lost to the public by declining to labour in this particular branch to which their talents are adapted.

When I recur to the benevolent intentions of the Company, and your regulations which have promulgated these intentions throughout the Provinces, and consider that the necessaries of life are little, if anything, raised in price, while every species of goods fabricated are 70 per cent above the rates at which they were vended in 1766, I am confirmed in my opinion of the justness of my position that the manufacturer has not, nor can be benefited in the least proportionate degree to the difference in price of the articles he manufactures. I, therefore, propose, with your approbation, to dismiss every intermediate agent to whom I must impute the debasement of the Dacca manufactures, to take them under my own immediate care, and conduct the future provision of the investment by your immediate servants, and economically deputing to the *aurungs* the gentlemen on this Establishment to inspect the provision of the goods. I am obliged, Gentleman, to your letter of the 28th May 1773 to Mr. Grueber that recommends this mode of furnishing the investment or any other that might be deemed preferable to the one which has prevailed and represented to you by Mr. Grueber to be defective.

The difficulty which may obstruct me in the execution of my design I am perfectly acquainted with. The interest of every individual formerly concerned in the provision of the investment, and the interest of every merchant who purchased up goods with a view to sell them to the Company,

unite them all in opposing a plan which precludes them from benefiting by the necessities of the Company. The *delolls*, etc., engaged for the public investment, as well as the merchants, being fully sensible that goods must be provided to load the ships to be returned to Europe, are led by similar views. The first in pursuit of their views have naturally delivered goods at an enhanced price and of bad manufacture in order that they might be returned upon their hands, and sold by them to the merchants, while the merchants knowing the necessities of the Company have been equally led to purchase such rejected goods at a premium of the *delolls*, well aware that every disappointment the public experienced would in the end insure a sale to them, as the ships could not be returned without cargoes, and that to complete their loading the public would be under an obligation to take such goods as were offered. Thus it would ever have been the interest of the *delolls* to lower the fabrics and the merchants to offer more for their goods, sensible, as I have already remarked, that the Company must in the end reimburse them and be forced to give a further advance upon making the purchase.

Having premised this, I conceive it is but equitable that the Company should stand in the place of the *delolls* and intermediate agents, that the manufacturers should be in the immediate employ of the public, and, instead of being in the service of individuals engaging to supply the public, be its direct agents, that they should receive every support and indulgence the nature of their vocation entitles them to, and that no merchant of whatever denomination should be permitted to hold commerce with those weavers who are engaged in the public service, that the cloths fabricated which are not of the Company's assortments or fit for the Europe market, shall be brought to the public *halls* and there disposed, but that no private merchant shall engage a weaver in his service by advances of *dadney*, but that all shall make their purchases in the public bazar where the goods may be exposed to sale. This will give a fine and just opportunity to every weaver who can fabricate and bring his own goods to market to obtain the utmost they will sell for, at the same time it will prevent the manufacturer who works up the material he is furnished with from the Company's advances from exposing to sale an article in which he has no other property than the wages of his labour, or delivering such article to the *deloll* or *picar*, who accounts with him barely for his wages and makes an advantage to himself at the expence of the public.

Having expressed my thoughts on this important object, it depends upon your determination how far the plan proposed is eligible and may be carried into execution, but in my judgment while the interest of every individual is

permitted to operate against the public purchases by *dadney*, such purchases had better not be made; for unless the labor of the manufacturer engaged by the public can be secured to the public, it is vain to make advances and furnish them with materials. Every year the same cause, the Company's wants, which fixes it the interest of all merchants to have goods to sell to the Company, will contribute more and more to the debasement of the manufactures, and to disappoint you in your purchases.

To employ manufacturers to fabricate the investment required, an establishment of servants is necessary conformably to the accompanying list. The fixed charge of Rs. 1500 per month devised upon the provision of the late years is at the rate of 2% per Rs. 100. The *detolly* or brokerage that has been paid is at 1 anna per rupee, which is 6½ per cent. The public saving here is Rs. 32,000. Allow for yearly balances in the mode now proposed for providing your goods 2 per cent. on 8 lacs, 16,000, the saving is Rs. 16,000. Exclusive of this which is not the object, your manufactures will be improved and their prices reduced.

As the time for commencing a reform in the provision of the investment will elapse, if I am not speedily furnished with your instructions, I request the favour of your commands as early as possible.

I am, Hon'ble Sir and Sirs,

Your most obt. and humble servt.,

ESTABLISHMENT OF SERVANTS REQUISITE FOR THE PROVISION OF THE INVESTMENT SHOULD THE COMPANY MANUFACTURE THE GOODS.

<i>The Aurung of Dacca.</i>		<i>Sanargan & Baniaparah.</i>		<i>Bajitpore & Jungulhary.</i>	
	Rs.		Rs.		Rs.
Gomastah 1	60	Gomastah	60	Gomastah 1	60
Naib do. or Assistant	50	Naib	30	Naib 1	30
Cash-keeper 1	30	Cash-keeper	30	Cash-keeper 1	30
Mohurers 5	45	Mohurers 3	45	Mohurers 3	45
Jamadar 1	5	Jamadar 1	5	Jamadar 1	5
Peons 10	30	Peons 10	30	Peons 8	24
Bearers 6	15	Pearers	15	Bearers 6	15
	215	Depent. Gomastah	15	Gomastah at Depent.	
			230	Aurung	15
					224
					230
					215
					669

Brought over		Rs.						
		669						
<i>Tillicuddy & Annandry.</i>			<i>Chaundpore & Soleah.</i>			<i>Damrey.</i>		
		Rs.			Rs.			Rs.
Gomastah 1	...	50	Gomastah 1	...	40	Gomastah 1	...	50
Naib 1	...	25	Naib 1	...	20	Naib 1	...	25
Cash-keeper 1	...	25	Cash-keeper 1	...	20	Cash-keeper 1	...	25
Mohurers 2	...	25	Mohurers 2	...	25	Mohurers 3	...	40
Jamadar 1	...	5	Jamadar 1	...	5	Jamadar 1	...	5
Peons 6	...	18	Peons 5	...	15	Peons 8	...	24
Beaters 6	...	15	Beaters 6	...	15	Beaters 6	...	15
		—169			—140	Dependent Gomastah		15
								199
<i>Buldoonal, etc.</i>			<i>Mofutgunge and Sawmpore</i>					280
Gomastah 1	...	60	Gomastah 1	...	40			1,062
Naib 1	...	30	Naib 1	...	20			
Cash Keeper 1	...	30	Cash Keeper 1	...	20	Rupees	1,541	
Mohurers 3	...	45	Mohurers 2	...	25			
Jamadar 1	...	5	Jamadar 1	...	5			
Peons 10	...	30	Peons 5	...	15			
Beaters 6	...	15	Beaters 6	...	15			
Dependent Gomastah		15			—140			
		—230						
		1,062			280			

R. B.

No. CCLXXV.

Dacca, 1774, 22nd Feby. Richard Barwell to Warren Hastings.
[Printed in *Bengal Past & Present*, Vol. V. p. 185].

Nos. CCLXXVI—CCLXXVII.

Dacca, 1774, February 25. J. Cator to Wm. Bensley. Of no interest.
" " " " Do. to W. Bensley & J. Price. "

Nos. CCLXXVIII.

DACCA,

25th February 1774

TO SAMUEL MIDDLETON, ESQ.

DEAR MIDDLETON,

Your letter of—relieved me from much uneasiness and heated the anxiety and solicitude of mind on the receipt of Pattle's information. As nothing

was further from my thoughts than an injurious act to you I made not the least hesitation to assure you that if a mistake of mine had given occasion for misrepresentation, no one would with more readiness or pleasure amend it. The list of private goods you sent me I wrote you I could not provide before the new year, for the state of public investment was such that although I sent up two lacks for the purchase of some goods on my own account I had been deterred making any investment at all. Should the plan I propose for making the public investment be adopted you will hear further from me, but if it is not adopted, you will excuse my declining to make a provision for you. My reason is simply this. I find that the Company's goods if they are purchased as heretofore will be excusably bad and very dear. And I would put it out of the power of malice to impute such defects to my having engaged the *delolls* and *pycars* to provide me with the best goods, for so it will be said even if I purchase nothing but Guzries.

I have no orders from the Board respecting elephants; only to put the Nobob's officer when he arrives in possession of the Kheddahs. You write me about elephants to be shared between the Nowab and the Company. I know not of a single elephant the Company has.

I am, DEAR MIDDLETON,
Truly yours.

No. CCLXXIX.

CALCUTTA,

The 25th February 1774.

To Messrs. NETTLETON and RAIKES,

GENTLEMEN,

I addressed you under date of the 6th October and transmitted you duplicate of my letter of that date in a short one of the 10th November in which I expressed my apprehension that the remittance of the amount of Messrs. Crichton and Smith's bond might fail in consequence of the stoppage of the channel of the Company cash at China. Since then letters have arrived here from Messrs. Crichton and Smith by which it appears they consider themselves so far under obligations to remit the sums which they took up in Bengal that they propose to fall on other means of doing it. I am therefore inclined to hope that the sums which I at first expected would come into your hands from the obligation of Messrs. Crichton and Smith will yet be remitted to you by these gentlemen. On having recourse to my letter of 6th October I find I desired you to pay such interest as might be remitted to you by Messrs. Crichton and Smith into the hands of Mr. Wilkins on his applying for the same. I formerly requested that gentleman

to advance one hundred pounds on my account and am still desirous of seeing him repaid from such interest, but having as yet but a distant prospect of returning to your quarter of the world I am willing to forego part of a remittance which I cannot soon have an opportunity of myself employing, and therefore I am now to request that as cash may come into your hands on my account after appropriating one hundred pounds to the reimbursement of Mr. Wilkins, you will please to pay the sum of five hundred pounds to Miss Barwell or to that lady's order, and on receiving advices of such payment or any part thereof, I shall account with Mr. Barwell here from whom in the interim I can supply my occasions with an equivalent sum in this country when opportunity may offer of employing the money.

Can I at any time be serviceable to you here, I have only to request that you will favor me with your commands without reserve and in the meantime, believe me, to be very truly gentlemen, etc.,

JAMES MILLER.

Nos. CCLXXX—CLXXXII.

Dacca, 1774.	Feb. 28.	J. Cator to Thos. Tulloh.	Of no interest.
"	"	Do. to Francis Peacock.	"
"	"	R. Barwell to Elias Abraham.	"

No. CCLXXXIII.

DACCA.

28th February 1774.

To JOHN GRAHAM, ESQ.,

DEAR GRAHAM,

I received the other day a letter from Middleton introductory of persons sent on behalf of the Nabob, desiring I would deliver them the "Nabob's proportion of elephants agreeably to the mode already prescribed by the Hon'ble the President and Council." I am at a loss about bringing this letter on my proceedings of Council, as the instructions I received from the Board were simply to put the Nabob's officers in possession of the *kheddahs*, and no elephants that I know of have been caught either for the Company or the Nabob. Middleton's mentioning that a partition is prescribed gives me reason to imagine there has been some mistake in wording the letter I received from the Board. I therefore, request you will inform me on this head and what is to be done.

Yours

No. CCLXXXIV

DACCA,

The 2nd March 1774

TO LAWRENCE SULLIVAN, ESQ.,

DEAR SIR,

I did myself the pleasure to address you from Calcutta with thanks for the kind support my interests received from your influence. Permit me here to repeat my acknowledgement and to assure you that you will not in the number of those you have obliged, find one more ready or more willing to express his gratitude on occasions where you may be pleased to put it to the test. Without a hint my opinion of your powers to serve the public and observation of the attention with which you have invariably regarded the endeavors of men who have aimed to merit your friendship, led me without your knowledge to attempt to recommend myself to your notice. That I did not effect it sooner is my misfortune in which my sister accidentally mentioned to McLean a wish I had long intimated to my family and friends because known to you, because as at that period of my life no views I might have could bias my inclination or be attributed to any motive, but the high ideas I entertained of your public character, it must be more flattering to your mind. An obvious interest that might at present appear to lead me in courting your friendship would be less gratifying and do injustice to the sentiments which made me aspire to your friendship.

The affairs of this country being likely to engage still further the animadversions of the public, the consequence of the administration here becomes proportionably heightened to the minute manner in which every transaction will be regarded, and renders less desirable those elevated stations in which the least mistake or error must be conspicuous. It has, however, this good effect in favor of the public, it secures a more attentive respect to its real interests and checks that avidity with which riches have been hunted after in this part of the globe.

In reading the late letters of the Direction to the Bengal Presidency I observed a degree of disappointment expressed that the plans proposed for the provision of the investment had not been attended with the salutary consequences expected. It is a subject which the letters from hence, I must remark, have treated very superficially. The old mode of *dadney* merchants freeing weavers from all contracts, rendering trade diffusive and open, without descending to the principle on which all manufactures are conducted, appears to have confused and thrown a mist round the subject. I have endeavored to explain this in a letter I submit herewith to your perusal and must add for your information that when the Company's

goods were provided by *dadney* merchants, they had an exclusive right to the labor of the manufacturers they engaged in their pay, and no one whatever was permitted to debouch them from their service by the proffer of higher wages or any other arts. Permit my declining here a discussion of the subject and referring you to my letter for my thoughts upon it.

I am etc.,

P.S.—I forget to mention above the enclosure of papers respecting some extraordinary pretensions advanced by the French and my opposition to them and to request the favor of your support as far as you may judge it due to me. *Idem.*

No. CCLXXXV.

DACCA,

The 3rd March 1774

TO LT. COL. MORGAN.

DEAR MORGAN,

I have received your letters from the Cape of Good Hope, and I flatter myself the accounts from England by the next ships will bring me news of your safe arrival there as well as of the probability of your returning to India in a short period of time with every wish answered that the justness of your pretensions gives you a right to form. Since you left Bengal men and measures in the Direction have greatly varied, but as your case is a plain one and rectitude on your side, I think the charges that have happened will not operate against your views, but rather tend to obtain you that redress which with justice you solicit from the Company. If, however, your fortune proves unpropitious, my friendship makes me sincerely wish you may find a contented mind. Every happiness a human nature is capable of above the wants of life and beyond the envy which riches attract; you may look down and smile at the bustle of passions which agitate the busy world, while your sword which hangs rusting on the wall reminds you at times of the vanities that formerly engaged your pursuits.

The money you ordered to be lent Doctor Anderson was advanced to him within a few days of your departure and the loan made to Mr. Dacres is continued to him upon his old bond. Your other monies are safe in my hands and may be drawn for at your pleasure. This is a sketch of your affairs with Anderson and myself, and as any accident should you continue in England would be severely felt by you, I think it would be prudent in you to withdraw every loan into the Company's cash, although your bonds now issued are, I understand, to be at five per cent.

My best wishes attend you. I am, etc.

No. CCLXXXVI.

DACCA,

The 3rd March 1774

To JOHN HAWKESWORTH, ESQ.

MY DEAR SIR,

I wrote to you the 18th January from Calcutta giving cover to several papers of a private nature. I call them private as they relate not to any public cause but have arisen from an opposition to my views. The morning of the day on which I left Calcutta I spoke with that freedom to Mr. Hastings on the subject of the papers in my letter to you of the 18th as the subject required and received from him an absolute promise to omit that part of his minute to which I excepted. You will have an opportunity of knowing from the Records of the Company in what degree my confidence in such assurance is answered, and how far it will be necessary to give a full relation of what has past as on his promise the minute I had written is not recorded.

In my letter of the 3rd November last I troubled you on points which the lax administration of the Government had, I apprehended, rendered subjects of public controversy with the servants of the Foreign Companies established in Bengal and particularly noticed to you the encroaching spirit of the French tending to establish an influence in this country incompatible to its interests and subversive of the power by which alone the possessions of the English Company can be secured. The public measures I pursued to obstruct the progress of the French pursuits you will observe by the enclosed papers, have given them great offence and created to me not a little trouble to establish the facts which they have dared to misrepresent and exaggerate to a shameful excess. As I can have no views to bias my conduct beyond the public interests committed to my charge, all I have to hope is that my measures may merit approbation at home and shew in their true light the inconsistency of the pretensions of the French. They not only avow but claim a right to exempt from the laws of the country every native to whom they may be pleased to give the appellation of a French dependent. This privilege they do not confine to their own possessions where the exercise of it might appear with some color of propriety but attempt to fix it throughout all Bengal. I am fully sensible that any dispute of privilege made a national object is not always judged by the propriety of conduct of an individual who engages in it. The policy of the State sometimes requires administration to disclaim his acts, however just the principle on which they are founded, but as this is no excuse for a man whose public station obliges him to regard with vigilance the interests committed to his care, he must be satisfied with performing

his duty to the public and submit with cheerfulness to whatever consequences which may result from such discharge of his duty. The character that is deficient in this particular, though it may pass in private life, would be wanting in the most essential point necessary to constitute the one proper for a public employ.

The coolness with which the Council appear to have regarded my first letter in reply to the French complaint and the entire silence observed on the various instances I brought before the Council in that letter, I confess, have astonished me not a little, but as the rights of the English Company remain the same, however backward and apprehensive the Board may be to support those rights, it rests with the Company to give such injunctions on that head as may be judged eligible by the Directors. I am, etc.

My dear Sir,

Your friend & obliged humble servant,

P.S.—The Vizier, Suja ul Dowla, it is said, proposes to march his army into the country of the Jauts. Since the Morattas departed from Delhi, the Shah's General, Nadziff Cawn, with the troops he could draw together has invaded the Jauts and possessed himself of Agra in the King's name. I do imagine the King has either called Suja ul Dowla to his camp as the Vizier of the Empire, or Suja ul Dowla apprehensive of the influence of Nadziff Cawn, is willing to avail himself of the strength he has in extending his own dominions and rendering the King absolutely dependent on himself. He has asked the aid of the English to protect his dominions during his absence on the expedition he has planned. This is a lucky circumstance to the public in point of saving, as Suja ul Dowla by treaty stands engaged for the whole expence of the Birgade appointed for his service. What influence it may have on the subsequent political views of the Vizier is difficult to unravel, but I do not imagine any that can be detrimental to the interests of the English.

No. CCLXXXVII.

DACCA,

4th March 1774.

TO JOHN HAWKESWORTH, ESQ.,

MY DEAR SIR,

The provision of the Company's investment which has long been the subject of visionary schemes, I treated pretty fully in my letter of the 3rd November last. I now trouble you with my sentiments as transmitted to the Board in the course of last month. The defects being in the principle on which the investment is made, it is not at all surprising that the price of the manufactures should increase every season, that the manufactures should

become more and more debased, and that the manufacturer should continue in the same indigent state he was in before the articles he now fabricates were raised to the enormous advance of sixty per cent. The very situation of things is the clearest and most positive proof I can bring of the justness of my reasoning. Whatever may be determined by the Council is another point. I confess I wish they may not approve my plan. I shall then reflect with satisfaction I have performed my duty, and though no opportunity is given me to improve the Company's investment, I am relieved from the trouble and care I must otherwise have experienced in prosecuting my plan.

I am, my dear Sir,
Your obliged friend and servant.

P.S.— Since writing the above I received the Board's letter of the 24th ultimo.

No. CCLXXXVII.

TO MRS MARY BAKWELL.

[No date.]

MY DEAR SISTER,

Since my letter of the 14th January last I think it possible you may be disappointed in the remittance I proposed of £4,000 by the way of China. By advice received from thence in the course of last month, no bills were obtainable on the English Company. However, as I gave instructions to remit the money, I have still some faint hopes that it may find its way to Europe. The difficulty which attends sending money to England makes me wish you would seize every opportunity of giving bills upon me for whatever amount you may be able to secure in England: it is the only safe and certain mode that occurs to me of throwing the whole of my fortune into your hands and of giving to your personal powers that additional influence proceeding from a command of money. The Government to support the expence incurred by maintaining a Fleet in India are obliged to answer bills drawn by the Admiral to the amount of that expence. The rate of exchange at which these bills are drawn, I believe, differs and is not at any fixt standard. Now I should suppose it possible by forming an acquaintance with some of the members of the Board of Admiralty to get a proffer of supplying the money required for the charge of the Fleet at a lower rate of exchange than has been hitherto and might obtain an order to the Admiral to take all or part of the money he has occasion for from me, at the fixt rates; you may be able to settle the exchange. Nothing should be left to the Admiral, as he would without doubt use a discretionary power to prevent the success of a plan his interest leads him to oppose, and the best way to prevent this would be to influence the Admiralty to take your bills upon me.

payable in Bengal for a fixt sum, namely, five lacks of rupees. The rate of exchange should not be below two shillings and one penny for the current rupee. If you can make it two shillings and two pence the current rupee, I could then afford to allow for a gratuitous fee to any member of the Admiralty one thousand pounds to expedite and secure the remittance of five lacks. Should it be stated in objection that there is a possibility of the Bills not being answered, you might with propriety refute it by observing that admitting the supposition, yet it could not be a good reason for rejecting the Bills you offered, because in that case if the bills were not paid, the Government would be in the same position precisely as it is at present respecting the supplies obtained for the Fleet. Therefore your proposition of giving bills insured an advantage to the Government and subjected it not to any risk whatever, for you asked no advance of money until certificates should arrive from India specifying the payment of the Bills.

I have seen and conversed with Lt.-Col. McLean, but did not touch upon the loan you had made to him, as I found no possible opportunity of remitting the money and was sensible an application must distress him very much. His appointments are handsome, but, I fear, will not equal his expectations in point of consequence or profit, though in the latter point he told me he should be satisfied. My only reason for doubting he may not be so, is his advanced age and the anxiety with which he wishes to return to England. He expressed to me a concern for the dissipated state of his fortunes—a hint I conceived of his incapacity to return the obligation you had conferred upon him. Should I at any time possess power in this country from what little I know of Colonel McLean, he is the first man whose assistance I should count.

I enclose you duplicate of a letter to Messrs. Nettleton and Raikes. A gentleman of the name of James Miller to whom I wish well, but on whose account I do not desire you to exert any degree of influence that you think may lessen it in behalf of others you are connected with, is extremely desirous of obtaining an appointment in the Service. A compliment of £5,00 I propose in his behalf and request you will not let the consideration of your being under a necessity of advancing the money from my cash sway with you. From the tenor of Mr. Miller's letter to Messrs. Nettleton and Raikes you will judge the cautionary principle on which it is written, and if the money cannot be paid in time by Messrs. Nettleton and Raikes, I must once more request you to advance it for the purpose abovementioned. Miller I very much wish to serve in the point he aims to effect, and if you can assist him in accomplishing it without interfering with your other views I flatter myself you will.

A few days since an extract of news arrived here very flattering to Mr. Hastings and not less so to me. It was forwarded by Mr. Moore and

received at Bussorah by the way of Aleppo. How false or how true such intelligence the first ship will explain; some believe and some doubt, but all seem to concur in the probability of the measures being taken of which the intelligence declares to have been resolved upon. I have written to Mr. Hawksworth on public topics to whom I refer you.

I am, my dear Sister, etc.

No. CCLXXXIX.

DACCA.

The 5th March 1774

TO THOMAS PEARSON, ESQ.

DEAR PEARSON,

To know we are remembered by our friends or those we wish to think our friends, is a gratification to our minds, a gratification I have often experienced, and under the impulse of which I now call your attention to a more how-do-you-do letter. If it refreshes your memory, my end is answered, for it would concern me much to be entirely forgot at the same time that I am content not to be under obligation to scribble two or three sheets, because sick of the pleasures of London or troubled with a fit of the spleen, you sat down to waste more paper than was necessary to inform me of your health. To write you on public topics would take up a great deal of time, and as I am naturally indolent and at present at hard labor, I must decline it. Mr. Grant writes you fully on the subject of the agency business; let me hear from you, I shall be satisfied with a line or two.

I am, etc.

P.S.—My best respects to Mr. Verelst. For your entertainment I send you an anecdote of Aldersey. I believe no one but himself would have thought of charging a man for breaking furniture lent to him and for matts worn out in his own service.

[To be continued.]

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